PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archaeology in Palestine

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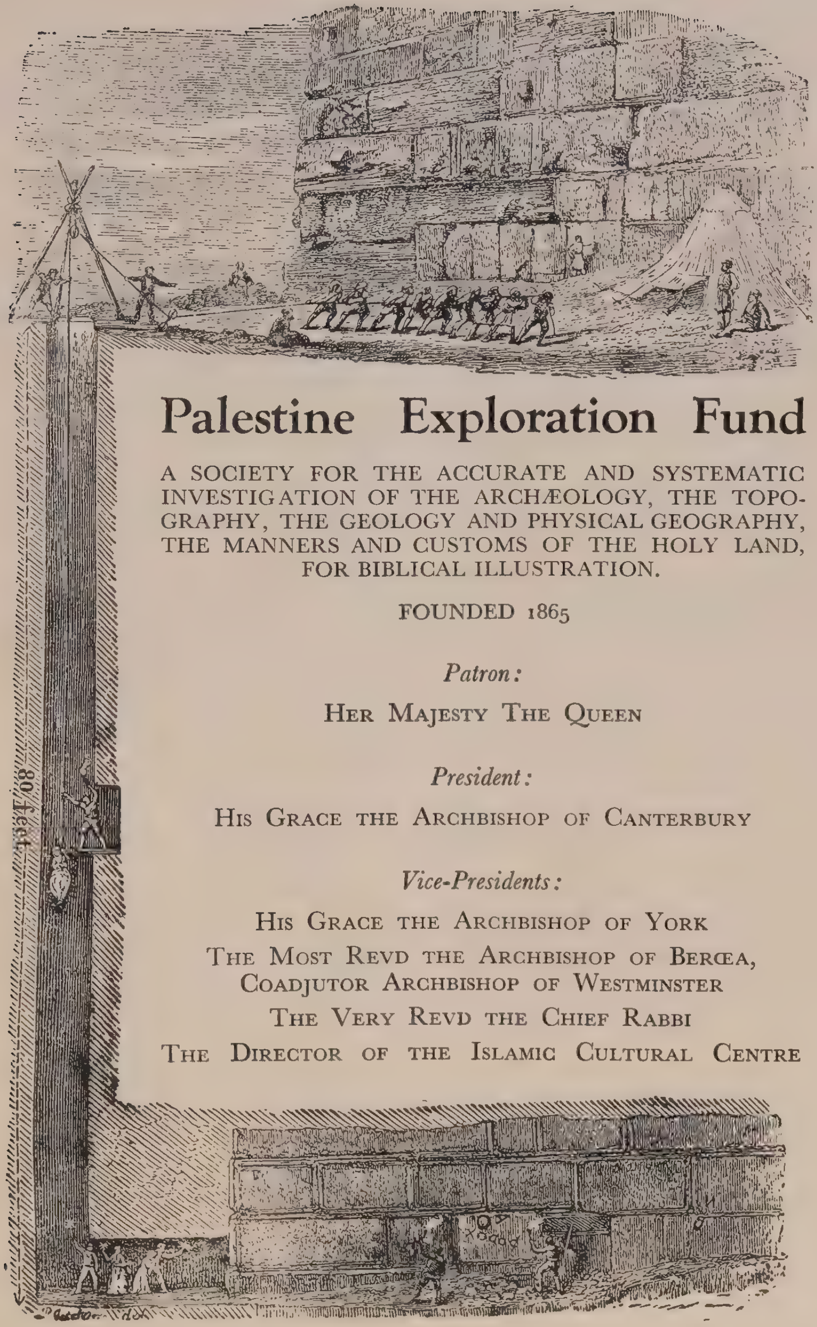

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TO PROFESSOR S. H. HOOKE, M.A., D.D., F.S.A.

DEAR PROFESSOR HOOKE,

It is with the utmost pleasure that the Palestine Exploration Fund dedicates this volume of the *Quarterly* to you.

We write on behalf of the Executive Committee to express grateful admiration of your many services to scholarship, as Flavelle Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in Toronto, as Samuel Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London, as President of the Folklore Society and of the Society for Old Testament Study, as author of many books and translator of many more—not least as translator of the Bible itself, in the Basic English version. Archaeology and anthropology, myth and ritual, biblical and theological studies have benefited greatly from your work, and you have put your fellow-students deeply in your debt. Your prestige is international, and all who have been in any way associated with your activities feel honoured and enriched by the association.

We remember with special gratitude all the help you have given us over many years as a member of the Executive Committee, and in particular your twenty-five years' service as Editor of the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*. During these years you have maintained its quality at a level which has won worldwide recognition. We are glad to think that by relinquishing the Editorship you have been set free for further activity in those fields of study in which you and we are chiefly interested. That you have by no means retired from the pursuit and impartation of learning is amply attested by your tenure of the Speaker's Lectureship at Oxford, and by the opportunity which is being given at this very time to the University College of Ghana to profit by your wisdom.

The honours which others have conferred on you have been richly merited, and your friends rejoice in them. We do not imagine that we are honouring you by making this dedication; it is rather you who, by accepting it, will add to the honour which you have already brought to the Fund. But we ask you to accept it as a token of our homage and affection, of our warmest thanks for the past and our best wishes for the future.

Yours very sincerely,
GERALD M. FITZGERALD, *Chairman.*
JOHN WAECHTER, *Hon. Secretary.*

London; January, 1958.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

News of special interest comes from Harran, where Dr. D. S. Rice directed a three-week season of excavations in 1956, following upon a two-week season in 1952. Three stelae which had been built as paving-stones or steps into the entrances to the great mosque at Harran proved to contain cuneiform inscriptions from the reign of Nabonidus. Two of these give an account by Nabonidus himself of his devotion to the cult of the moon-god Sin at Harran, of sedition in Babylon and the neighbouring cities, of his consequent departure for ten years to North Arabia, where he not only built a new capital for himself at Teima (as we knew already) but penetrated as far south as Yatribu (probably Medina). At the end of the ten years his repentant subjects in Babylonia submitted to him, and " the kings of Egypt, of the Medes and of the Arabs " entered into friendly relations with him. (At this time, *c.* 545/4 B.C., the " king of the Medes " must have been Cyrus.)

The other inscription turns out to supply the complete text of a document already known in part from a fragment found in 1906. Its opening words are put into the mouth of the mother of Nabonidus, a devout worshipper of the moon-god. Among other interesting contents, it includes a new Assyrian king-list. We look forward to the publication of text and translation of these inscriptions by Dr. C. J. Gadd.

The account of Nabonidus's sojourn in North Arabia is the more interesting because another reference to the same occasion has recently been found in the fragmentary " Prayer of Nabonidus " from Qumran Cave IV, published and discussed by Father J. T. Milik in *Revue Biblique* LXIII (1956), pp. 407 ff. Here the king's residence in Teima (lasting seven years) is described as being due to a sore disease which befell him by the decree of God Most High; the document presents some striking affinities with the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Daniel iv, and so poses a fascinating problem in literary criticism.

It is not so long since the late Michael Ventris won the admiration of scholars and the general public alike by his brilliant solution of the problem of Minoan Linear B. In spite of some surviving pockets of scepticism, his demonstration that the language of Linear B is Mycenean Greek is now widely (and rightly) accepted. Once this code was cracked, it was to be expected that Linear A would be attacked with renewed vigour and hopefulness, but for some time the only certain pronouncement that could be made about the language of Linear A was that it could not be Greek. Now Professor Cyrus H. Gordon, of Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., has propounded the thesis that Linear A was used for the recording of a Semitic language, more particularly a Semitic language from the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Professor Gordon found his starting-point in a tablet from Haghia Triada which supplied sound and meaning together—pictograms of cups, jars and other vessels had names inscribed above them in Linear A. He presents his argument with true scholarly caution, and avoids anything in the nature of dogmatism; but his reputation is such that his argument is sure to receive the serious attention of others working in these fields. Even if his conclusions are right, he makes it plain that Linear A was devised by an earlier group of people for a non-Semitic language. His arguments will be found in an article entitled " Notes on Minoan Linear A " in *Antiquity* for September 1957 (Vol. XXXI, pp. 124–130), followed by a note on " Akkadian Tablets in Minoan Dress " in December, 1957 (pp. 237–240).

Dr. Gordon has recently written a book entitled *Adventures in the Nearest East* (Phoenix House London; 1957), in which he describes for the interested layman the rudiments of archaeological method and some of the most important archaeological discoveries in that part of the world. The area covered includes Asia Minor, Iraq and Egypt as well as Israel and Jordan; among the discoveries he discusses the records of Nuzu and Ugarit, the Lachish Letters and the Dead Sea Scrolls. There is an appreciative foreword by Dr. O. G. S. Crawford, which ends with the sentence: " So here is a book with something good in it for everyone."

The death of Dr. O. G. S. Crawford, who was a member of our Executive Council, was a sad blow, the sadder because it followed so soon on the death of Professor Gordon Childe. Elsewhere in this issue there are obituary notices of both. We had hardly received the notice of Professor Childe from Dr. Crawford when the news of Dr. Crawford's own death was announced.

The site of Derbe, in Asia Minor, has at last been identified by Mr. Michael Ballance on the basis of a dedicatory inscription set up by the council and people of that city in A.D. 157. The inscription was discovered by Mr. Ballance in 1956, at the mound of Kerti Hüyük, under circumstances which make it practically certain that Kerti Hüyük is the ancient Derbe. The site is some 13 miles N.N.E. of Karaman (Laranda). Tentative identifications had previously been made—*e.g.*, by J. R. S. Sterrett at Zosta and by W. M. Ramsay at Gudelissin—but these now prove to be about 25 miles too far west. One reason for supposing that Derbe lay farther west was a misunderstanding of Acts xiv, 20, which was taken to mean that Paul reached Derbe from Lystra in one day. It is now clear that the translation should not be " on the next day he went on with Barnabas to Derbe " (as the Revised Standard Version has it), but " on the next day he set out with Barnabas for Derbe ". Mr. Ballance gives an account of his discovery in " The Site of Derbe: A New Inscription ", *Anatolian Studies* VII (1957), pp. 147–151.

The latest *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* to come to hand (Vol. III) covers the year 1953–54. Its principal contents are: " Mamilla Cemetery ", by Hamdi Nubani; " A Typological Study of the El Khadr Javelin- and Arrow-heads ", by F. M. Cross, Jr., and J. T. Milik; " The Neolithic Site of Ghrubba ", by James Mellaart; " Tombs of the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age at Tell Ajjul ", by K. M. Kenyon; " A Neolithic Site at Wadi el Yabis ", by D. V. W. Kirkbride; " A Cave at Arqub el Dhahr ", by Peter J. Parr; and a survey of " Excavations in Jordan, 1953–1954 ", by the Editor and former Director of Antiquities, G. Lankester Harding. This survey includes an interesting account of excavations conducted by Fr Virgilio Corbo on various sites in the property of the Custodia di Terra Santa east and north-east of Bethlehem, between 1951 and 1953. These have brought to light a number of Christian foundations dating from the fourth to the sixth century.

The *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* for October 1957 contains a contribution by Dr. W. H. Brownlee entitled " Muhammad ed-Deeb's own story of his scroll discovery " (pp. 236–239). Muhammad ed-Deeb, it will be remembered, was the Taʿamire herdsman who made the first manuscript discovery in Cave I at Qumran. Here we have an account taken down in Arabic from Muhammad's lips by Mr. N. S. Khoury of Bethlehem, with translation and notes by Dr. Brownlee. According to this narrative, it was in 1945 that Muhammad entered the cave (unaccompanied on his first visit), and found the jars. He broke nine with his staff, to find that they contained nothing but some reddish seeds; but when he broke the tenth (which was sealed with a substance like red clay), he found an inscribed roll of leather inside. This he took with him in hope that it might prove useful for sandal-straps; in fact he gave each of his two companions a piece of it for that purpose ! When he reached home, he put the scroll into a bag which hung there for two years. Then an uncle of his took it to Bethlehem to show to a dealer in anitiquities in case it might be of any value. No doubt Muhammad's narrative has undergone something of the " stream-lining " which form critics assure us that orally preserved accounts tend to undergo as time goes on; even so, it suggests that the current accounts of the finding of the scrolls must be amended in at least one material point. But to think of that scroll (was it 1Q Isa. A?) hanging up in a Bedouin home for two years ! Well, we should be thankful that the material was not really suitable for sandal straps. *Habent sua fata libelli.*

Dr. Yigael Yadin has contributed to *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (*Scripta Hierosolymitana IV*) a fascinating study of " The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews ", in which he defends the thesis that the " Hebrews ", to whom that work was addressed were a group of Jews, originally belonging to the Qumran sect, who were converted to Christianity but carried with them into Christianity some of their previous beliefs, with which the writer takes issue. Among these beliefs Dr. Yadin makes special reference to the eschatological role of the angels, the priestly Messiah, and the prophet of the last days. He concludes: " It is my sincere hope that more competent students in the field of NT studies will either refute this suggestion or, if they agree to it—wholly or partially—will submit more data in its support."

The Pontifical Biblical Institute in Jerusalem inaugurated a series of Advent Lectures on archaeological themes on the four Sunday afternoons before Christmas. Since the Israel audience is greatly interested in archaeology, but sufficiently well-informed on the numerous researches being carried on within Palestine, emphasis was laid especially on peripheral biblical regions. In recognition of the special status of Jerusalem institutions, no information was conveyed or photographs shown regarding activities within Arab countries; but an Arab archbishop, Monsignor Georges Hakim of Galilee, was invited to preside at the opening lecture. This first lecture, by Dr. Malachi Martin, S.J., of Dublin, was a portion of the doctorate he is just completing under Canon Dr. Robert de Langhe of Louvain on the personalities discernible in the Qumran scrolls' calligraphy, and notably in the third hand which Father Martin claims to discern in the eleventh column of the Hodayot scroll. Other lectures were by Père Joseph Stiassny of Ratisbonne on " Homer and Moses ", *i.e.*, the respect of early Christianity for valid elements in the Jewish and classical traditions (in French, December 8), and by Professor Robert North, S.J., Director of the Institute, on the monuments relevant to biblical study in Iran (in Hebrew, December 15) and on his season of excavation at Boǧazköy (December 22). About 70 persons, including the outstanding archaeological authorities of the city, attended each lecture.

The Anglo-Israel Exploration Society is holding an Exhibition at the British Museum in the Assyrian Saloon, by permission of the Trustees, of the results of its first three campaigns at Hazor in Galilee, the great Canaanite city captured by Joshua. These excavations are being conducted by Dr. Yigael Yadin and a team of assistants, including M. Jean Perrot, of the French Centre de Recherches Scientifiques, on behalf of the Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with generous support from the late James de Rothschild. The Exhibition will be opened to the public on May 3rd, and will remain open for two months. It is reported that in their last season the excavators discovered among other things a new Canaanite temple lined with orthostats, the contents of which will be brought to London.

The Secretary will be grateful for unwanted copies of the following; postage incurred will be refunded:

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RECENT DISCOVERIES IN JORDAN[1]

By G. Lankester Harding

Conditions in Jordan have been so good and encouraging, and the sites within its boundaries of such interest and importance, that all archaeological work had been steadily on the upgrade since about 1950, and the year 1955–56 represented a peak year in that respect. During that year no fewer than six expeditions had taken the field, apart from Government sponsored work; and owing to the many development schemes going forward all over the country, there were many casual finds of great importance. Licensed excavations during that year by various archaeological societies were carried out at Dothan under Dr. Free, at Balata near Nablus under Dr. Ernest Wright, at Tell Far'a (also near Nablus) under Père de Vaux, at Jericho under Dr. Kathleen Kenyon, at el-Jib near Jerusalem under Dr. Pritchard, and at Dhiban in East Jordan under Dr. Morton. Further work was carried out at Qumran under the usual combined expedition of the Government, the École Biblique and the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the Government carried out a first excavation at Petra with Miss Diana Kirkbride in charge. In addition, Professor Zeuner carried out a survey of prehistoric sites in the eastern desert, of which a first report has already appeared in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1957, pp. 17ff.).

I do not propose to talk about the work of the various expeditions, as preliminary reports of most of these have already appeared, but to confine myself to the work of the Government and the casual discoveries, which always resulted in still further work for the Government. Perhaps the easiest way to deal with the various discoveries, which are widely distributed both in time and space, will be in chronological order, starting with the prehistoric finds.

I

One of the most interesting—and problematical—is what I have called a casual find, and in order to explain how these come about I think I must say something of Point 4 and its work first. It is, as I expect most of you know, an American scheme of technical assistance for such countries as are in need of it, and the organization has been very active in Jordan with irrigation schemes, desert reclamation schemes and road building. In all countries of the Middle East ancient sites are to be found everywhere, both in the desert and the sown, but for the number of obvious, known and registered sites there must be twice as many, particularly prehistoric ones, which are as yet unknown. The officials of Point 4 had opportunities of visiting and working in areas of the country which are often difficult of access and to which, without their equipment and organization, I as Director of Antiquities could never have penetrated. So it was extremely fortunate that all of them took a great interest in the archaeology and antiquities of the country, and often came to me to be briefed as to what they might come across in the course of their work and wanderings. They were always most helpful and co-operative, and readily understood when I impressed on them the necessity of reporting to us any finds as soon as possible, without trying to excavate the place themselves. This latter was not always possible with some of the bigger development schemes, and things were dug up before they knew anything about it themselves. But in general, as I say, they were completely co-operative, and we have to thank them for many important new finds.

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund, July 11, 1957. The period covered ends in September, 1956.

All this is leading up to a place called Azraq, in the eastern desert some two hours' car drive from Amman. This is an oasis at the head of the Wady Sirhan which runs down into Saudi Arabia, and has many large stretches of open water where, in season, duck congregate in their thousands. There are also a great number of springs, and Point 4 was engaged in enlarging and canalizing some of these with a view to irrigation of a big area of the oasis to the south. One day the official in charge of the work, Mr. Purnell, brought into my office three very fine Palaeolithic hand axes, and told me they had been found about a metre below the surface at a spring which they were enlarging and extending, and asked me to come out and look at the site. The American ambassador, Mr. Mallory, was an enthusiastic amateur archaeologist, and kindly offered to take us out there. So the following Friday we set out, with my assistant Mohammed Saleh, and when we drew up at the Point 4 camp and stepped out of the car, my face must have shown something of my astonishment, for Mr. Purnell said: "You obviously didn't expect to see that." I did not; for laid out on a table and benches were some 100 or so fine hand axes. We were told that this was only a selection, and that they were still coming out in their dozens, so we went off to the spring, called Ain el-Asad, the Spring of the Lion, where an even more astonishing sight met our eyes. All around the edge of the excavation were many dozens of flint implements, axes and flakes, which were being recovered from below water. It was almost incredible to see the workmen, knee deep in the water, feeling about in the mud with hands and feet and bringing up a continuous flow of implements.

It was clearly a site of considerable importance, and it was also clearly necessary to make at least a sounding to try and check on the stratification, if any existed. Fortunately the enlargement work was almost completed, and about a month later Miss Diana Kirkbride was able to go out and clear a small section at the side of the original pit. She established that there is indeed some kind of stratification, but at present it is not possible to say more than that. The material is in such great quantities (and most of it is still, of course, in Jordan), that it will take some time to work over it and produce a report.

By the time I left, there were some six or seven hundred axes of various sizes and shapes, including the largest I have ever seen myself, nearly a foot long by 7 inches wide, besides many boxes of flakes. At present the experts are not entirely certain to which culture this remarkable collection belongs, whether to the lower Palaeolithic, Acheulian, or—great jump—to the Neolithic. And indeed, to ask a prehistorian to assign a period to such a large collection of flints merely from a few specimens and a few drawings and photographs is rather like asking a doctor to diagnose over the telephone. Also I feel myself that a much larger controlled excavation is necessary before the question can satisfactorily be cleared up, particularly with the view of establishing which animal bones occur in which strata. The fauna is very important for establishing the culture.

II

Now we have to go to the other end of the country for the next prehistoric discoveries, to—surprisingly enough—Petra. Here the Government had been planning a campaign of excavation, the chief object being to make the place more attractive and interesting for visitors. To this end last season's work, which was the first, started the clearance of the paved road which leads through the triumphal arch to the temple. I will tell you some more about that when we come to the period. Miss Kirkbride was in charge of the work, and by way of light relief on high days and holidays, carried out a survey of the site, looking particularly for prehistoric remains. With the aid of the local Bedul, she was most successful, and located first a rock shelter of the Mesolithic period. This lies about half way up a little valley which, while not very far from the centre of Petra, is so difficult of access and with no major Nabataean monuments near, that it is doubtful if it has been visited by any archaeologist before. It is, as I said, a rock shelter rather than a cave, a seasonal dwelling place on a ledge under an overhanging rock. Judging from the depth of deposit it was probably occupied for some considerable time, but the artefacts are entirely homogeneous in character and belong only to the one period, late Palaeolithic. This is the earliest occupation of Petra so far recorded, though further search may reveal lower Palaeolithic remains somewhere.

Subsequently, on the track to el-Barid, Miss Kirkbride found a small site of the pre-pottery Neolithic period, which can be compared with some of the early levels of Jericho, particularly with those of the polished floors. Many flint implements were recovered, including some very fine arrowheads, also beads and a few bone tools. The site seems to be an open one, and was much denuded, and there was no time to make any excavations or sounding.

Flint implements have, of course, been found at Petra before, but they were surface finds and not connected with sites or settlements of any kind. So these two discoveries have added something to the history of the early settlement there.

III

The next find of which I want to tell you was another chance discovery, and takes us back to Amman. In 1955 I was coming to England on leave, and was actually waiting in the airport to take the B.O.A.C. plane to London, when a young man from the R.A.F. came in to me with a brown paper parcel and asked me to look at what they had just found outside. When unwrapped, it turned out to be four pieces of heavy bronze which it was not difficult to identify as pieces of an Egyptian *khepesh* sword, dating probably to the late Bronze Age, which period has been so notably absent from East Jordan so far. According to the information given me then, it was an isolated find, with no other objects near it, but I asked that it might be reported to the Department with my recommendations that the area of the find should be examined and if necessary excavated—and took myself off to London. It was duly reported, and the site was examined by our technical assistant Mohammed Saleh. He found it was by no means an isolated find, but was associated with quantities of potsherds and other objects and there were clear traces of heavy stone walls. The place was right in the middle of the aerodrome beside the taxying runway, and about a third of it had already been bulldozed away. But the R.A.F. kindly suspended further work, and the site was excavated. When I returned from London excavation had been completed, and the objects and pottery—the latter in enormous quantities—were laid out for my inspection. A glance was sufficient to show that everything was of a period so far missing in East Jordan, dating from the end of the Middle Bronze Age, about 1550 B.C., to the Late Bronze Age, perhaps about 1250 B.C. The nature of the objects seemed to show that they came from a temple, and subsequent examination of the site itself I think confirmed this.

It was a building some 16 metres square, with walls a metre and a half thick, built entirely of large, undressed limestone blocks. The northern face had suffered most from the bulldozer, but the entrance seems to have been on that side slightly east of centre. Areas running the width of the building on the north and south seem to have been open courtyards, while the central third consisted of three long, narrow central rooms with smaller ones, or possibly again open areas, on the east and west. Most of the finds came from the central rooms, and the great quantity of ash, and the burnt condition of much of the pottery, showed the nature of the final destruction of the place. There was no construction of any kind which might have been an altar, nor have I been able as yet to find any exact parallel to the plan. The position of the building is also very curious, in the middle of a saucerlike flat plain surrounded by low hills, with no other buildings in its vicinity, and some three kilometres, in a direct line, from the ancient centre of Amman. Mr. Saleh tells me that on the foothills to the north-east are traces of another small settlement with similar pottery, but I did not get to examine this myself.

Both the pottery and other objects were absolutely typical of the period; in fact, if one had asked for a type set of artefacts of the Middle to Late Bronze Ages, nothing better could have been produced. The pottery was very smashed, sometimes, as I said, burnt, and mostly incomplete; I fear the bulldozer had a lot to do with that. About one third of it is imported ware, and this includes, for the first time, a large quantity of Mycenaean ware. All the characteristic forms are represented, pilgrim flasks, pyxis, even fragments of two large craters bearing designs of men and chariots, probably originating from Cyprus. There were also fragments of Cypriote milk bowls and base ring ware. But it is the local pottery which is really the most important, and of this there is an enormous quantity, but all broken and all fragmentary. Dozens of forms are represented, though work was still going on with assembling and fitting when I left, from large storage jars some metre and a half high, to lamps and small bowls. Much of it, particularly the pilgrim flasks, is decorated with polychrome and monochrome designs Its importance lies in the fact that this is the first time we have been able definitely to assign any pottery in East Jordan to the Late Bronze Age, and when it is finally drawn, photographed and published it will provide a new guide for the dating of sites in East Jordan. I have myself long suspected that some of the sites assigned by Dr. Glueck to the Early Iron Age were actually of the Late Bronze Age, and from what I have seen of this Amman pottery it would not surprise me if my surmise turns out to be correct. For it is truly local ware in that it differs slightly from contemporary ware in Palestine.

The other objects include, in addition to the fine bronze *khepesh* already referred to, about thirty odd bronze arrow and spear heads, both intact and fragmentary; bronze daggers; crushed remains of bronze bowls, and the usual selection of amorphous and quite unidentifiable bronze fragments. A number of pieces of gold leaf testify that it was not a poverty-stricken temple; some of these are narrow strips rounded at each end and with holes for sewing or nailing on to something. Others are roundels typical of the period with lotus or star designs in *repoussé* work. There is even a small gold toggle pin and a gold earring. Beads are of carnelian, onyx, quartz, glazed paste, bone, all the usual materials, and have made up four long and rather bulky strings. Then there are many examples of the circular, disc-like object usually described as a spindle whorl; these are of bone, ivory and stone. As some of them, however, are less than half a centimetre in diameter they clearly cannot be spindle whorls; in any case, why should people go to a temple to spin?

In ivory are the usual ointment spoons of the period, both oval and round, with lids engraved with a flower pattern; also remains of wands and pins, though no sign of the carved heads and animals such as were found in the Lachish temple. Knife handles of bone, decorated with lattice and chevron designs, are also found.

Scarabs and cylinder seals are typical of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages; in fact the only omission from this otherwise very inclusive group—and it is a serious omission—is a nice long inscription to tell us when it was built and to whom it was dedicated.

The importance of this find is twofold; first, as I said, it gives us a splendid group of local pottery of the period, in the light of which, I think, we shall have to reconsider Dr. Glueck's dating for some of the sites in the neighbourhood. Secondly, it suggests very strongly that this part of the country at least was not deserted and unoccupied during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, for a temple as rich as this one implies worshippers and a priesthood. In fact, we now have the following evidence for occupation of this district during the Middle–Late Bronze Age; Middle Bronze tomb groups at Mt. Nebo, Naur and Amman; the Middle to Late Bronze temple at Amman; and a Late Bronze–Early Iron Age tomb at Madaba. There is no doubt that surface surveys can be very deceptive; indeed, if we were to try and deduce the history of occupation of Amman from a collection of surface sherds, we should say without hesitation that it had not been occupied before the Iron Age, for there are no surface remains earlier than this to be seen. But tombs and now the temple tell us a different story, ranging as they do from the Early Bronze Age onwards. So perhaps we should consider the case for non-occupation, at least of the kingdom of Ammon, during the 18th to 13th centuries B.C., as not proven.

IV

Let us now return to Petra and look at what has been unearthed there from the Nabataean and later periods. As I said before, the work was part of a three-year plan to augment the interest of the site for visitors, and in the process to try and sort out something of the somewhat vague history of the place. Actually the work really started in 1954 with the construction of a good length of protective walling along the south side of the wady within the city area. At this point the buildings adjacent to the wady, and the triumphal arch, were in danger from erosion by the winter floods which sweep down the wady in a powerful spate. This work had been in the charge of Mr. Peter Parr, and although it had not been planned as an excavation, a certain amount had, of course, to be done. In the course of this, some fine pieces of monumental sculpture were unearthed, but as this has now been published in the last number of the *Quarterly* (1957, pp. 5 ff.), I will say no more about it.

Late in 1956 the work of excavation proper was begun, the plan being to clear the paved street, of which traces could be seen in section in the wady scarp, up to the triumphal arch. The arch itself is in a very poor state of preservation, and is urgently in need of big conservation measures if it is to be preserved. But first the area around it must be completely cleared to try and recover architectural and sculpture elements which have fallen from it anciently and are in all probability still lying around under the debris. However, as I say, the object of the first year's operation was to clear the road up to the arch, and in fact, work reached to within a few yards of it, at which point it was halted by the most untimely ending of the financial year.

This paved street must date from the Roman occupation of Petra, probably early in the 2nd century A.D., for it exactly resembles the street of columns at Jerash. That is to say, it comprises the street, paved with large blocks of limestone, the collonades on either side, behind them the sidewalks and the shops opening on to them. In addition there are two monumental stairways leading off up the hillside on the south. Its history, too, seems to be the same as that of the Jerash street, namely, that in the Byzantine period it fell into disuse as a thoroughfare, the columns were overthrown, the drums, capitals and sometimes the bases being dragged around and used as part of the walls of mean hovels which extended in some cases well out into the street. The shops also were considerably pulled about and subdivided into very small rooms. Strange and rather primitive water systems with very small cisterns were put up, and in general the picture which one gets of Petra in the late Byzantine age is one of poverty and degeneration. From the evidence of the pottery found this state of affairs seems to have continued on into Omayyad times, but so far there is no evidence that the place was occupied after that until the Crusaders built a fort there. This, in fact, is the picture one gets of the whole of Jordan in that period, and I think myself that it is due to the fact that so long as the Omayyad court was at Damascus, Jordan was on the direct road to Mecca and so was looked after and kept secure. But with the shift of the Abbasid court to Baghdad, Jordan was no longer of any importance and was left entirely to its own devices, security broke down, and the country lapsed into a state of abject poverty.

The shops on the south side of the street, which were in the shelter of the hillside, were the best preserved, though even here they had been so frequently altered and rebuilt that it was often impossible to establish their original plan. Of the buildings on the north or wady side only traces remained, with occasional small staircases leading down below street level to something now eroded away. At its eastern end the street itself is washed away, but if it continued on in a straight line it must at some point have crossed the wady on arches. As to what happened at the scarp of the wady there is now no evidence at all, as all façades on both sides of the torrent bed have been completely washed away. It is possible, of course, that the whole wady was arched over, as was the case with the stream in Amman (where modern architects have taken a leaf out of the Roman book and built the modern municipality across the stream on vaults). It is also possible, even (I think) probable, that much of this protective work had collapsed before the late

Byzantine times, which would account for the scarcity of buildings on the north side of the street.

A few pieces of very battered sculpture were found in the debris on the street, also a number of carved capitals, fragments of pilasters and other architectural ornaments, all of typical Nabataean work. Two inscriptions were found, neither of them *in situ*, one in Greek the other in Latin, and both badly weathered. On the former the words *Metropolis Petra* can be distinguished, and a name which looks like Gaius Claudius. The latter mentions Maximian and Diocletian, showing that Petra was still a city worthy of consideration in the later third and early fourth centuries A.D. No Nabataean inscriptions were found.

But strange as it may seem in view of my previous remarks, it was on the north side of the street that the most interesting finds were made. The street does not run parallel with the wady, and as it approaches the triumphal arch the space between it and the wady widens, and at the widest point a group of rooms were found, the tops of which are level with the paving blocks. They were of typical Nabataean construction, being spanned by arches over which large slabs of stone had originally been laid to make the roof. They were in most cases filled with debris which had apparently been dumped there when the road was constructed, though some of them had a fill of water-laid deposit. From these rooms was recovered a great quantity of the extraordinarily fine decorated Nabataean ware, and sorting and fitting together, which was still going on when I left last year, had so far produced a dozen almost complete examples of this beautiful ware. There were also some good examples of Nabataean moulded lamps, one of which bore a delicately modelled grasshopper; there were also examples of the typical erotic subjects. The fine decorated bowls are of two main classes, one having very light, delicate painting, no two being alike, the other having a coarse, heavy design of two patterns, with many examples of each. In general, too, the bowls with the heavy designs were somewhat larger than those with the fine work.

Up to a comparatively few years ago, only one complete example of these decorated bowls had been known to exist, then two more examples were found in a tomb in Amman, and subsequently a few more of the coarse type were recovered from the excavations at Dhiban. So this dozen—or now possibly more—new ones makes a very considerable addition to our knowledge of Nabataean design.

The most interesting things found in these rooms, however, were a number of Nabataean ostraca written in ink on sherds of these fine bowls, or at least in one case, I believe, on what was originally a complete bowl, though this has yet to be proved. Nabataean inscriptions are rather rare things, particularly in Petra, and the longest texts we know of are those of the papyri discovered few years ago in caves near the Dead Sea, in the Muraba‘at area, and published in the *Revue Biblique*. The papyri were written in a beautiful book hand, whereas these ostraca—the first we have seen—are in a cursive script, which so much resembles Arabic that when I first saw them I thought someone was pulling my leg. However, Abbés Milik and Starcky set my mind at rest on that point, though they found them extremely difficult to read, and as far as I am aware have not yet made a translation of them.

This work is the largest excavation so far undertaken in Petra, though it cannot be considered to be on a grand scale and was limited in its objective, but it shows, I think, that it would be well worth the while of some society to undertake several seasons' work on the site.

Despite all Miss Kirkbride's efforts, she was unable to locate an unopened tomb, though while she was there the Bedul did find a fairly well preserved one. This produced an interesting group of pottery, including some new forms and types, though most were incomplete. There was also a charming little triad cast from a mould in pottery, representing a man in the centre, flanked on either side by a slightly smaller female figure. The man is playing a flute, the woman on his right plays a sort of harp, and that on his left may perhaps be playing a drum—the first Nabataean musical trio we have yet seen.

V

And now let me take you down to Khirbet Qumran, the Essene settlement on the shores of the Dead Sea where since 1951 our joint expedition under the direction of Père de Vaux has been excavating the monastery and its adjacent cemetery and caves. In the last year the whole of the settlement was finally laid bare, and nothing has come to light to cause us in any way to change our views as to the dating of the place. Let me remind you briefly of what these views are, first saying that there was originally an Iron Age fort on the site, of which some foundations still remain. According to the archaeological evidence, backed by a remarkably complete sequence of some 500 coins, the settlement was founded in the late 2nd century B.C., abandoned from about 30 to 4 or 5 B.C., then re-occupied, and finally burnt to the ground by the Xth Roman legion in A.D. 68–69, at which time their library of scrolls were hidden in a series of caves in the vicinity. On the ruins the Xth legion erected a small outpost, which they occupied to about the end of the century, while during the second Jewish revolt in the 2nd century some of the underground rooms of the tower were used as a hide-out. After this the place was completely abandoned and forgotten.

It is impressive now to be able to walk through the ruins of this settlement and see the potters' quarters with their kilns and levigating pit, the flour mill and bread ovens, the complex system of water channels and cisterns, the storage bins, smelting furnace—all the signs of a self-contained community. There is a large cemetery to the east of the settlement, and two more subsidiary cemeteries were found, one to the north and one on the south side of the Wady Qumran. Two graves in the former were cleared, and contained the remains of elderly males; four in the latter were excavated, two of which contained remains of women and the other two of children of about 7 or 8 years old. The type of grave was identical with those by the settlement itself, so must be contemporary with it, and this find brings up once again the problem of women and children at the settlement, if not actually living in it, then certainly somewhere in the vicinity.

A determined attempt was made to establish whether there were any more caves in the marl scarp of the Wady Qumran, near the settlement, to which end workmen—and sometimes ourselves—were lowered over the edge on ropes, and scraped down the debris of the scarp for a very considerable distance to reveal the native marl beneath. Traces of some more caves were indeed found, but they were no more than traces, for the greater part of each cave had eroded away and collapsed into the wady some 200 feet below. But in each fragmentary cave were one or two equally fragmentary pieces of inscribed leather or papyrus, suggesting that manuscripts had actually been deposited in them at some time. Some of the caves had quite elaborate staircases leading down to them from the plateau above. In view of past experience I should not like to say that there are now no more caves in the marl near the settlement, but at least I don't think we missed any in the area which we examined.

Having completed the main settlement, we turned our attention to some walls about half a kilometre to the south of the wady which we had first observed from the cliff above. A trial excavation in the vicinity showed that these were of the Late Iron Age, probably of the same period as the Iron Age foundations of the Qumran settlement. There were two groups of buildings which we examined, and the one nearest the cliff turned out to be a row of rather small, narrow rooms which might have been dwellings or storage chambers. The other, which was a little further east near one of the more or less fresh water springs, was clearly a small fort, square in plan, with fairly thick outer walls, and divided up into four or perhaps five small rooms inside. Only a few inches above floor level remained in each case, and nothing but sherds was recovered.

Near Ain Feshkha itself, about 3 kilometres south of Qumran, one or two lines of largish stones sticking up above ground level suggested further buildings, and a preliminary examination has shown that there is in fact quite a large structure there. The floors of the rooms excavated are some two metres below present ground level, the fill having presumably washed down from the cliffs and hills immediately to the west. In the upper levels of these rooms were remains of a rather poor Byzantine occupation, but everything on floor level and for a distance of almost a metre above was of precisely the same period as the Qumran settlement. In one of the rooms we even found a pottery inkwell similar to that found with the scriptorium at Qumran.

So we have here another smaller establishment related to that at Qumran, perhaps connected with the cultivation and irrigation of the narrow strip of land between the hills and the Dead Sea where a number of rather mineral springs seep out of the rock. Only two rooms were cleared in 1956, and I do not think any work has been done there this year, but clearly this will have to be looked at some time.

Now a few words about the scrolls themselves, and the latest information I personally have about them, which is not, I fear, very up to date. Early in 1956 the Beduin found another cave containing manuscripts, a little to the north of Cave I, and only a few yards from where we pitched our camp when in 1952 we examined some 50 caves in the vicinity. The cave is situated some 50 feet up the scarp, and the entrance had collapsed anciently, leaving only a very small hole to give access to the interior, which was why we had missed it. Cave hunting is now the chief occupation of the Taʿamireh, and many of them devote their whole time to it, so they have ample leisure in which to examine every little nook and cranny. I think that not more than one in every ten of the cracks and holes into which they insert themselves produces anything at all, and only about one in twenty yields any inscribed material, and then usually in small quantity. But in this case their luck was in, and I was brought some truly magnificent pieces of scrolls, the best in condition that we have seen since Cave I, though they were not in jars. A preliminary examination by the scholars working in the Jerusalem Museum identified a very beautiful little scroll of part of the book of Leviticus in the proto-Hebrew script, many large pieces of an apocalypse of New Jerusalem, a Targum or translation of the book of Job into Aramaic, of which only the central portions of the scroll remain, and a particularly fine, nearly complete scroll of the book of Psalms. Of this only about the lower quarter is missing, having been destroyed by damp; the scroll is tightly rolled, and must be a pretty long one. It has not, or had not when I left, been unrolled. There are rumours of still other good scrolls from the same cave, now called Cave XI, but once again it is a problem of raising the cash to buy them all in. It is a great find, and the Targum is, I believe, the earliest yet known, and I sincerely hope the means may be found to save these scrolls and keep them in the country.

During the recent troubled times in Jordan, all the material from Cave IV, which is mounted between glass sheets, was packed up in specially prepared boxes and deposited in the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Amman. During its rest there, apparently some of it suffered slightly from damp, but I gather this is not serious. Now I am happy to say it is all back again in the Jerusalem Museum, and the scholars are assembling there to continue their arduous task of piecing together the fragments and preparing authoritative translations and commentaries for publication. It will probably be another couple of years before we can see the end of this great work.

VI

And finally, another more or less casual find, for which we have to thank Mr. Barry Park of Point 4, who was also, incidentally, instrumental in finding many of the prehistoric sites which were examined by Prof. Zeuner. A short distance to the north of the pumping station of H4, almost on the Jordan-Iraq border, a scheme for water conservation and grass growing was being carried out by Point 4, of which Mr. Park was in charge. Whenever he went out on a trip anywhere he always kept a sharp look-out for ancient remains, and not far from his desert headquarters he found some fine Safaitic cairns, with many inscriptions beside them. These cairns were erected and the inscriptions cut by the Beduin who wandered over this basalt waste with their flocks and herds during the spring season, when grazing is good there. It is the Bedu custom now, and it seems it was then, to erect cairns of stones over people who are killed, either accidentally or murdered, in the course of their wanderings, and the Safaites always recorded their act on slabs of basalt around the cairn. Incidentally, in date the Safaites can be anything from the 1st to the 7th centuries A.D. Many hundreds of these texts have been collected in the past by travellers, but often their hand copies are very inaccurate. So it is of great value to have good photographs of new texts, and in this case many of them were of three or four lines, which is quite a large document. Usually by a cairn there will be one text which tells us who is buried there, and many of the others are by relatives and friends who came to assist at the funeral and building. Occasionally they give us other bits of information about themselves, such as the tribe or family to which they belonged, or what they were doing in the neighbourhood. No historical text in the script has yet been found. The language is a pre-Islamic Arabic, and the script is one of the great South Semitic group. Only one cairn has so far been excavated, so it would be interesting to be able to examine these new ones, but that task must, perhaps, wait for more settled conditions. One of the most interesting points about these Safaitic texts, and their relations in the south, the Thamudic ones, is that in those days everyone, even the shepherds, seems to have been able to read and write at least his own and his family's names. Another good thing about them is that they did not, like most modern visitors, choose the best antiquity on which to scratch their record.

So briefly, I have tried to give some idea of what has been going on in Jordan up to the time I left there, and can only conclude by hoping that conditions will soon be back to normal and that this interesting work can be resumed in full.

THE LEGION WHICH RECONQUERED JERUSALEM IN THE WAR OF BAR KOCHBA (A.D. 132-135)[1]

By JOSEF MEYSHAN (MESTSCHANSKI)

The question of the legion which reconquered Jerusalem in the War of Bar Kochba is not an idle one. Historically, this problem is important and significant. Based on available data as to which well known legion participated in the war, historians can draw conclusions on the composition and extent of the war.

Before enlarging on the subject, I wish to review briefly the organization of the Roman Army.

The Roman Army was composed of a certain number of legions which varied during different periods. The legion as an army unit was in existence from the earliest period in Roman history, and was a unit capable of acting by itself. Each legion was divided into ten cohorts which were again divided into six " centuries." There were six military tribunes to each legion as well as 60 centurions. In addition to the infantry the legion also contained mounted soldiers. The commanding officer of each legion had complete and absolute power over his men, being in a position to try them and carry out the death sentence.

The number of soldiers in each legion varied from time to time. In the period of the Roman Republic, the legions numbered from four to over five thousand soldiers and the cavalry anywhere from 120 to 400 men. Hadrian's army was composed of 30 legions, each containing an average of 6,000 infantry and 120 cavalry.[2]

To date no unanimous opinion has been reached by historians as to which legions actually participated in the War of Bar Kochba. The reason for this variety of opinion is simple enough. It stems from the scanty information which has come down to us from ancient sources about the War of Bar Kochba. Dio Cassius, for example, who lived in the first half of the third century, makes in his historical works only brief and cursory references regarding this war. Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, who lived from *c.* A.D. 260 to *c.* 340, also gives very little detail regarding the period. We find more rewarding material in the Talmud (both the Jerusalem and Babylonian) and the Midrashim. Although the importance of these ancient sources cannot be denied, authentic historical material is scarce, and that which is available is to a great extent based on legends. Consequently, this material must be used with the greatest caution.

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[1] This paper was read at the meeting of the Israel Numismatic Society on May 12th, 1956, at Tel Aviv. I have to thank Mr. M. Avi-Yonah, Lecturer in Archaeology at the Hebrew University, who kindly agreed to read the MSS of this article and give his advice.

[2] Kubitschek — Ritterling; in Pauly — Wissowa, *Real-Encycl. d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. XII/i, Stuttgart, 1924, 1195–1198.

In the modern writings on Jewish history, in which the above mentioned sources are used as well as other authentic material, the question of the participating Roman legions who took part in the war is discussed in great detail. I shall mention here only three of these historians: Schürer,[1] Allon,[2] and Yeivin[3]. The following table gives a brief conspectus of the list of the legions which took an active part in the War of Bar Kochba as written in the works of these writers.

YEIVIN	ALLON	SCHÜRER
with certainty	*with certainty*	*with certainty*
1. Leg. X. Fretensis	1. Leg. X. Fretensis	1. Leg. III. Cyrenaica
2. Leg. XXII. Deiotariana (in entirety)	2. Leg. III. Cyrenaica	2. Leg. III. Gallica
3. Leg. III. Cyrenaica	3. Leg. II. Trajanica	3. Leg. X. Fretensis
4. Leg. III. Gallica	4. Leg. XXII. Deiotariana	4. Leg. VI. Ferrata
5. Leg. X. Gemina	5. Leg. III. Augusta	5. Vexillatio X. Gemina
6. Leg. V. Macedonica	6. Leg. X. Gemina	6. Cohors IV. Lingonum
7. Leg. XI. Claudia (in strength of one cohort at least)	7. Leg. IV. Scythica	
	8. Leg. XIII.	
	9. Leg. XIV. (possibly detachments of these units)	
not certain, but a possibility of parts of the companies participating	*possibly*	*possibly*
1. Leg. II. Trajanica	1. Leg. V. Macedonica	1. Vexillatio Leg. V. Macedonica
2. Leg. IV. Scythica	2. Leg. VI. Ferrata	2. Vexillatio Leg. XI. Claudia
3. Leg. VI. Ferrata	3. Leg. XI. Claudia	
4. Leg. XVI. Flavia Firma	4. Leg. VII (in part)	
		not certain
		1. Leg. IV. Scythica
Part of the Roman Navy i.e. Classis Syriaca took part in the war.	Part of the Roman Navy i.e. Classis Syriaca took part in the war.	Part of the Roman Navy i.e. Classis Syriaca took part in the war.

Based upon ancient sources and historical literature, the participation of certain Roman legions in the War of Bar Kochba is established beyond reasonable doubt.

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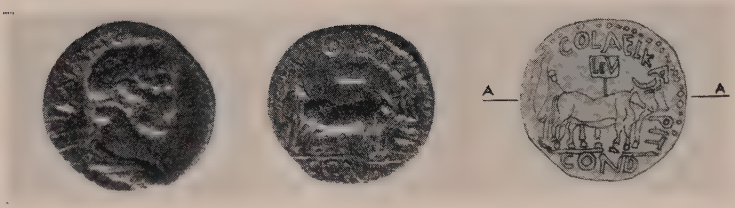
[1] E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 687–8, n. 11. b.

[2] G. Allon, *A History of the Jewish People in Palestine in the time of the Mishna and Talmud* (Hebrew), Israel, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 27–28.

[3] S. Yeivin, *Bar Kokhba War* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1952, pp. 73–79.


COLAELKA
LEV
COND
A
A

Founder Coin of Aelia Capitolina.

There is no absolute historical proof of the participation of the Vth Legion Macedonica in this war; according to Schürer, however, it is possible to presume that part of this legion was present. Allon also mentions the possible participation of a section of this legion and Yeivin writes with assurance of the active participation of this legion.

The discussion concerns, however, the participation of part of this legion, *i.e.*, a Vexillatio, and not of the legion in its entirety. This view is based on an inscription of five lines found at Bethar by Clermont-Ganneau,[1] who in 1894 was the first to publish this inscription as follows:

1. ....
2. ....
3. ET. Victor.
4. Centurio Vexil.
5. Leg V Mac ET XI CL.

From the above inscription we can assume the possibility of participation of a part (Vexillatio) of the Legions XI Claudia and V Macedonica. In his comprehensive monograph on the Roman Legions, Ganschinetz[2] writes thus: " Sources do not reveal very much about the participation of the Fifth Macedonian Legion in campaigns except the place where they camped in Troesmis " in the time of Hadrian. There is only the possibility that a military detachment (Vexillatio) participated in other campaigns. This assumption is based on the inscription mentioned above.[3]

Filow[4] holds a completely contrary view. He is of the opinion that neither the Fifth Macedonian Legion nor any part of it fought in the War of Bar Kochba.

In this particular case we can call to our aid the science of numismatics which can with absolute certainty decide the question of whether the Fifth Macedonian Legion participated in the War of Bar Kochba or not.

Throughout the Roman colonial coinage there occurs a type which has been named " Founder Coins ". When an emperor established a new town, or rebuilt a town or even expanded the area of an existing town, it was customary to mint Founder Coins in his honour. These coins have on their *obverse* the head or bust of the emperor surrounded by an inscription consisting of his name and titles; and on the *reverse* the emperor, in toga, standing behind a plough pulled by a pair of oxen. Frequently a vexillum is represented above the pair of oxen on a shaft which stands behind in the ground. This vexillum bears the number of a legion.

The representation on the reverse thus depicted the emperor in the act of breaking the first clod of earth in a trench surrounding the area designed for the establishment of the new city. (In Latin this line is known as *pomoerium.*)

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[1] Quoted by S. Yeivin, op. cit., p. 226, n. 11.

[2] Ganschinetz: in Pauly—Wissowa, op. cit., Vol. XII/2, 1578.

[3] Cf. M. Avi-Yonah: *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* Jerusalem, 1938, VIII, pp. 58–59.

[4] Filow, *Die Legionen der Provincia Moesia*, pp. 68–69 (quoted by S. Yeivin, op. cit., p. 222, n. 89).

In Palestinian numismatics we know of coins of the founder type which were struck in Aelia Capitolina, Caesarea, Ptolemais and Sebaste.

In the city of Aelia Capitolina, Founder Coins were struck by five different emperors[1]; (1) Hadrian, (2) Marcus Aurelius, (3) Macrinus, (4) Elagabalus, (5) Hostilianus.

The first coins of Aelia Capitolina struck by Hadrian show the vexillum (legionary banner) in the conventional rectangular form above the pair of oxen. Due to the strong projection of the standard in relation to the other representations on the coin, its surface became easily erased in circulation.

Recently, a Founder Coin of Aelia Capitolina minted by Hadrian was discovered by the writer.[2] After thorough investigation, it was possible to read the inscription above the legionary standard as follows:

LE V

i.e. Legio Quinta—the Fifth Legion.

Description of the Coin

Obverse: Bust of Hadrian to right. Inscription around, beginning from left below:

(IMP C)AES. TRAIANO HAD(RIANO)

Reverse: Figure (the emperor) wearing toga, standing behind a plough drawn by a pair of oxen. Above the oxen the rectangular standard of the legion over a shaft with tassels. The inscription beginning left above reads:

COL. AEL. KAPIT.

In exergue: COND . . .

On the standard the inscription reads:

LE V

Other coins too are in existence bearing the symbols of the Fifth Macedonian Legion, *e.g.*, the coins of the province of Dacia from the time of Philip to Gallienus (246–257)[3]. On these coins the figure V only appears on the legionary banner, and an eagle's head below is represented—the insignia of this legion. On the coins which bear the head of Gallienus, we find the following inscription:

V MAC VI P. VI F
or V MAC VII P. VII

On coins of Emperor Victorian the following is inscribed:

V MAC. P(ia) F(idelis)

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[1] L. Kadman, *Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium*, Vol. I, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina Jerusalem*, 1956, p. 53.

[2] The writer gives thanks to Dr. A. Shalit of Jerusalem who has been helpful to him in acquiring the coin.

[3] Ganschinetz, op. cit., PW, 1579.

On bricks which were found in Moesia, the following inscription was discovered: L.V.M.OES; *i.e.*, the Fifth Legion of Moesia.[1]

Various original descriptions show the Fifth Legion defined as V MAC. In the historical writings of Tacitus and Josephus, the legion is defined only by the numeral "fifth" without the name Macedonica. *The inscription LE V on the standard of the Founder type coins struck during the reign of Hadrian serves as clear proof that the Fifth Macedonian Legion participated in the War of Bar Kochba in the years* 132–135.

Up to this period the legion was stationed at Troesmis near the mouth of the River Danube, not far from the modern town of Galatz. This legion or certain detachments of it had been moved by the Emperor Trajan from Moesia to Palestine after the Second Dacian War.[2]

According to given data the coin should have been minted during the years 135–137, and not in 138. It is almost certain, however, that it was minted in 135—if we assume that the first coins of Aelia Capitolina were struck in the year immediately following the end of the Bar Kochba War. In any event the coins could not possibly have been minted later than 137. This is borne out by the fact that the Founder Coins, which were the first coins of Aelia Capitolina, differ from other types of coins which were minted there during the reign of Hadrian. These include among others the portrait of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, who died in 137.

We cannot help but ask: Why did Hadrian mint this first coin in Aelia Capitolina bearing specifically the insignia of the Fifth Macedonian Legion? Why did he not choose any of the other legions which participated in the War of Bar Kochba and most important of all, why did he not stress the role of the Xth Legion Fretensis? This legion not only participated in both the wars against the Jews (in the years 66–70 and later 132–135) but it was the only legion which for 70 years had been stationed in Judaea with the task of maintaining order while guarding the interests of Rome. It was this legion which had gained fame in the crushing of the Jewish uprising against Rome in the years 66–73, and this too was the legion which had destroyed the Temple. Until the armies of Bar Kochba drove them from the city of Jerusalem this was the centre where its forces were mainly stationed. More and more evidence verifies this fact; such inscriptions and tiles found in Jerusalem and its environs bearing the letters: LE. X. FR. *i.e.* Legio Decima Fretensis.

In my opinion there is but one acceptable explanation: *The Fifth Legion Macedonica was THE legion which had recaptured Jerusalem from the armies of Bar Kochba.* Hadrian knew how to appreciate the event and gave this sign of recognition and esteem to the soldiers of this legion. On this account the insignia of the Fifth Legion was inserted on the standard of his first coin—the Founder Coin of the new city, Aelia Capitolina.

[1] Ganschinetz, op. cit., PW, 1585.

[2] Ganschinetz, op. cit., PW, 1576.

Besides this explanation there is yet another. Four other Founder Coins of Aelia Capitolina were minted by various emperors. However, in the true sense of its meaning, the Founder Coin minted by Hadrian is *the* Founder Coin; for it was he who founded the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jewish Jerusalem. Many emperors after Hadrian struck coins of the Founder type at Aelia Capitolina. Just as Hadrian (notwithstanding the fact that he had not founded Caesarea) struck founder-type coins at Caesarea, so too these later emperors struck founder-type coins at Aelia Capitolina. The explanation may be found in the fact that these emperors caused veterans of the legions to be settled in these cities. From time to time, it appears that the necessity arose to augment the population of a colony with inhabitants loyal to the imperium. The settlement by additional legionary veterans did not have much value from a military standpoint. It did, however, help the Roman rulers in carrying out the definite obligations which they had toward the veterans. After completion of their army service, the veterans were entitled to a financial compensation, known as *honesta missio*, which was relatively high. (In the time of the Caesars the amount was 3,000 denarii.) Instead of money the veterans could have land for settlement.[1] By doling out land in the various conquered countries the treasury was able to save the expenditure of ready money. Likewise the settlement of veterans helped Rome maintain a line of safe cities along the vulnerable border positions of the Imperium Romanum. Thus the secondary Founder Coins bearing the symbols of legion banners denote the veteran settlements of those legions.

It follows therefore that in addition to the explanation of Hadrian's first Founder Coins symbolizing Jerusalem vanquished by the Fifth Macedonian Legion, the coins may also commemorate the settlement of the veterans of the legion in Aelia Capitolina. This is applicable only to the Founder Coins of Hadrian, for as I previously emphasized it was he who founded the city of Aelia Capitolina. This is adequately proved by the fact that on the reverse of the Founder Coins an additional inscription appears in the exergue, reading COND.., which is an abbreviation of the word *Condita*, " founded." This word does not appear on any of the other secondary Founder Coins of Aelia Capitolina, which were struck by other emperors at a long time after the city had been built.

I opened this paper with the question " Which Legion conquered Jerusalem in the Second Jewish War of Liberation Against Rome? " I emphasized that this was no idle question but one which could give the historian and us a concept of the expanse and importance of this war. The fact that the Fifth Macedonian Legion took part in the suppression of the Second Jewish Revolt in Palestine adds an important proof to the view that the war was a bitter and serious one for Rome. The legions which fought in this war came to the aid of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, which had been, as previously stated, stationed in Palestine long before the commencement of the revolt. The legions came overland from different territories of the Empire: from Syria, Egypt and Arabia. Hadrian ordered also the transfer of the Fifth Macedonian Legion from Troesmis at the mouth of the Danube. It is true that the Fifth Macedonian Legion had been ordered from Moesia in A.D. 67 under the command of Vespasian. Their first landing was made at Ptolemais (Acre). This legion participated successfully in the first Jewish War and distinguished itself at the battle of Mount Gerizim. It was this legion too which was responsible for taking the fortress of Antonia in Jerusalem. In the year 71, Titus sent the legion back to Provincia Moesia (its permanent station) via the Egyptian city of Alexandria. In the year 117, Trajan transferred the legion to Troesmis,[1] where it was stationed until Hadrian summoned it to fight in the Bar Kochba War.[2]

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[1] Cf. E. Saglio: *Diction. des Antq. Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1926, Vol. III/2, p. 1082.

In order to defeat the Jews in their own land, Hadrian was forced to bring further reinforcements to his already large armies in Palestine. Yeivin[3] thinks that the number of soldiers who participated in this was 35,000—the armies of the entire Roman Empire during Hadrian's reign numbered 30 legions, amounting to 180,000 soldiers.

The Fifth Macedonian Legion was part of this reinforcement, being brought from the region of the Danube via the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea—a sea-journey of 1,750 kilometres. In addition Hadrian also summoned the help of his best commander Sextus Julius Severus who came from Britain to command in the war. Indeed, it was he who finally defeated Bar Kochba. The Senate bestowed on Julius Severus the highest honour of "Ornamenta Triumphalia."[4] According to Mommsen,[5] Julius Severus was the last individual upon whom this honour had been bestowed. Apart from this, he was appointed as Legatus pro praetore provinciae Judaeae and Legatus pro praetore provinciae Syriae, *i.e.* governor of both Syria and Judaea.[6]

We are now more able to fully understand the last sentences of the Roman historian Dio Cassius in his description of the Roman wars against the Jews in the years 132–135. He writes thus:

> ". . . Fifty of their most important garrisons and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most renowned towns were blotted out. Fifty-eight myriads of men were slaughtered in the course of the invasions and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine and disease and fire was past all investigating. Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made

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[1] Ganschinetz, op. cit., PW, 1574.

[2] Cf. E. Saglio, op. cit., p. 1082.

[3] S. Yeivin, op. cit., p. 88.

[4] E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 698, n. 140.

[5] Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Vol. I, p. 378.

[6] E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 698.

> desolate, an event of which the people had had indications even before the war. . . . Many Romans moreover perished in the war. Wherefore Hadrian in writing to the Senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors: 'If you and your children are in health, it shall be well: I and the armies are in health.'"[1]

Even in high official circles in Rome the real value of Hadrian's Pyrrhic victory was well understood; the considerable losses sustained by the Roman army had to be hidden from the populace, and instead the stress was put on the outstanding character of the victory. The Senate conferred upon Hadrian the title of Imperator in A.D. 135 for the second time,[2] which was customary on the successful completion of war. Nonetheless, the Emperor Hadrian after his victory over the Jews in Palestine did not begin his letter to the Roman Senate with the customary formula: "*Mihi et legionibus bene.*"

CONCLUSIONS

Based on numismatic facts alone, we can draw the conclusion that the Fifth Macedonian Legion participated in the Second Jewish War of Liberation against Rome (Bar Kochba War).

Based on numismatic facts and a study of historical resources, it seems likely (*a*) that the Fifth Legion Macedonica must have been the legion which conquered Jerusalem during the years 132–135, and (*b*) that the veterans of this legion were among the first military settlers of Aelia Capitolina.

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[1] Dio Cassius, Book LXIX, pp. 11–16.

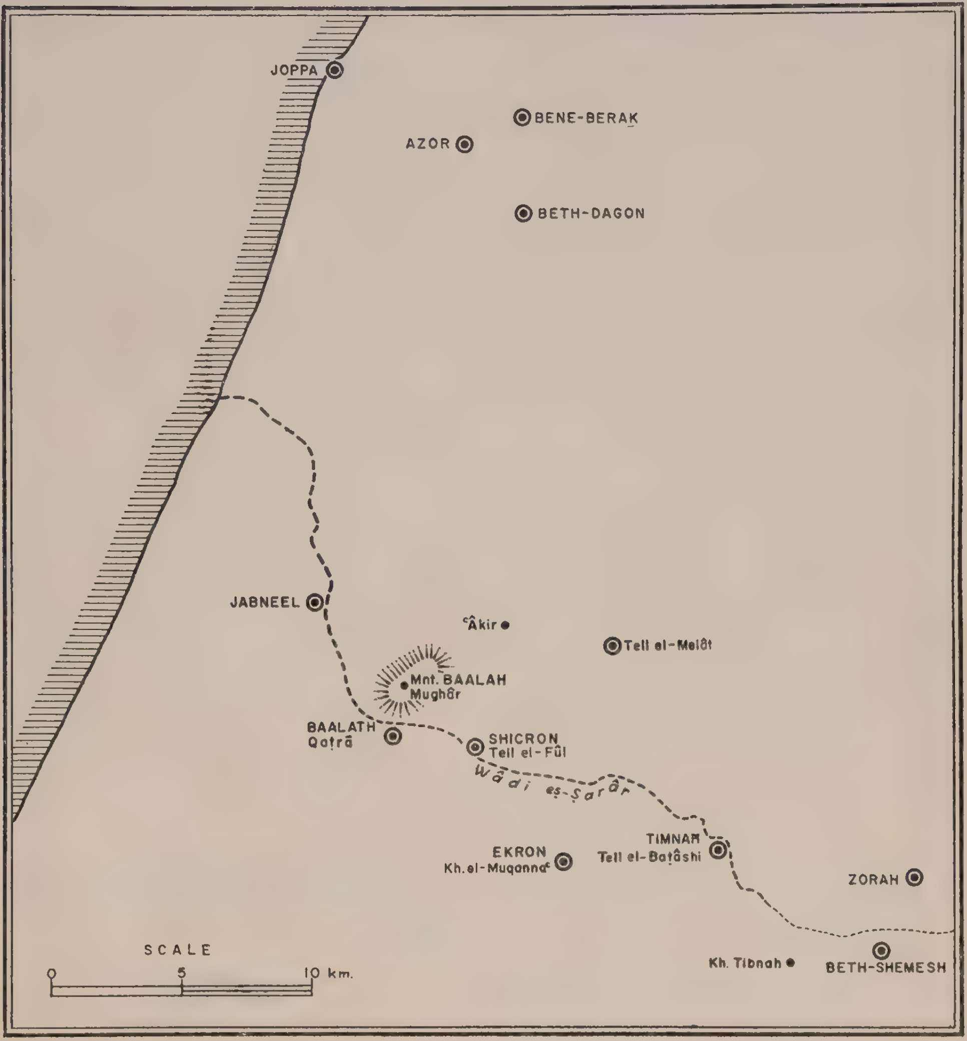
[2] E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 697.

THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF JUDAH

By Yohanan Aharoni

The most disputed section of the northern boundary of Judah is its western part, between Beth-Shemesh and the sea coast, described as follows (Jos. xv, 10–11):

וירד בית־שמש ועבר תמנה· ויצא הגבול אל כתף עקרון צפונה ותאר הגבול שכרונה ועבר הר הבעלה ויצא יבנאל והיו תוצאות הגבול ימה·


JOPPA
BENE-BERAḴ
AZOR
BETH-DAGON
JABNEEL
ʿÂkir
Tell el-Melâṭ
Mnt. BAALAH
Mughâr
BAALATH
Qaṭrâ
SHICRON
Tell el-Fûl
Wâdi eṣ-Ṣarâr
TIMNAH
Tell el-Baṭâshi
EKRON
Kh. el-Muqannaʿ
ZORAH
Kh. Tibnah
BETH-SHEMESH
SCALE
0
5
10 km.

Of the six places mentioned in this passage only the location of two is undisputed, i.e. the first and the last of the list: Beth-Shemesh at *Tell er-Rumeileh* and Jabneel at *Yebnā*, the Talmudic Jabneh. These two cities are in the *Wâdi eṣ-Ṣarâr*, now called Naḥal Sorek, though its identification with the O.T. Valley of Sorek cannot be proved.

The location of the remaining four places is much disputed, and according to the different identifications the borderline is drawn either to the north or to the south of Naḥal Sorek. The intention of this paper is to fix that border according to new identifications, based partly on recent archaeological discoveries.

The first place mentioned after Beth-Shemesh is Timnah, usually identified with *Khirbet Tibnah*, about 4 Km. S.W. of Beth-Shemesh in the hill country to the south of Naḥal Sorek.[1]

However this identification is out of the question, as this is a typical Roman-Byzantine site without any earlier remains.[2] We have therefore to assume that the name moved for some distance in the course of the centuries. The most suitable and apparently the only site of this type is *Tell el-Baṭâshi*, located in the middle of *Naḥal Sorek*, 7·5 Km. N.W. of Beth-Shemesh and about 5 Km. N.N.W. of *Khirbet Tibnah*. This is a quite imposing Tell, situated to the south of the riverbed, and encircled by it from three sides. The Tell is quadrangular in shape, *c.* 125 m. long and wide, comprising about 4 acres (15,700 m^2) and surrounded by a clearly distinguishable city wall. The sherds belong mostly to Iron I and II but also to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. There seems little doubt, that the quadrangular city wall was built during the Iron Age.

This strongly fortified city or citadel suits well all our information about Timnah, which appears first in the Samson stories as a Philistine city (Judg. xiv, 1, 2, 5). It should be remembered that Samson always *descended* from Zorah to Timnah, which was surrounded by rich fields of wheat (Judg. xv, 1, 5). This description fits very well the relation between Zorah high in the hills and *Tell el-Baṭâshi* below in the fertile valley. In the tribal territory of Dan, Timnah (Thimnathah) appears before Ekron (Jos. xix, 43). Timnah was in the most disputed area between Judah and the Philistines, and the city changed hands at least twice in the course of history. In the reign of Rehoboam (*c.* 928—911 B.C.) it was apparently under Philistine domination, since he fortified Zorah as a border fortress[3] (II Chr. xi, 10). But from II Chr. xxviii, 18, we learn that the Philistines captured the city in the reign of Ahaz (*c.* 733 B.C.), thus indicating that in the meantime it had been in the hands of Judah. In this passage Timnah appears " with the villages thereof " (ואת תמנה ואת בנתיה), which emphasizes its prominent situation as a rural centre.[1]

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[1] E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches* II, p. 343; *S.W.P.* II, pp. 417, 441; Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 481.

[2] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.* 18, 1925, p. 10; Aharoni, Dothan, Frumstein, *BIES* 16, 1951, p. 51 (Hebrew).

[3] Beth-Shemesh was fortified already previously by David or Solomon, as proved by the excavations.

Most instructive of all is the capture of Timnah by Sennacherib, as recorded in his annals.[2] After the capture of Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Bene-berak and Azor (Azuru), four cities in the coastal region between Joppa and Lydda, at that time belonging to Ascalon, the Assyrian army marched against Ekron. The rebels went to battle with Egyptian help in the plain of Eltekeh and after the story of their defeat the annals continue: " I besieged Eltekeh (and) Timnah (Ta-am-na-a), conquered (them) and carried their spoils away. I assaulted Ekron. . ."[3]

We learn here that after his victory over the Egyptian army by Eltekeh, Sennacherib captured first Eltekeh and Timnah and only afterwards Ekron itself. It is difficult to believe that Sennacherib would penetrate into the hill country south of Naḥal Sorek before capturing Ekron. On the other hand *Tell el-Baṭâshi*, situated on the main road from the coastal region to Beth-Shemesh, fits these events very well.

The proposed identification of Timnah with *Tell el-Baṭâshi* is fully confirmed by the identification of neighbouring Ekron. The old proposal of *'Âqir*, which seemed to preserve its name, has long been abandoned, as there are no early remains at this place and a number of sites have been proposed by various scholars.[4] It seems to me now that this question has been settled conclusively by a new archaeological discovery. 6 Km. W. of *Tell el-Baṭâshi*, 3·5 Km. S. of Naḥal Sorek, lies *Khirbet el-Muqanna'*. This site has been examined several times and Albright has proposed its identification with Eltekeh.[5] A new thorough examination of the site has brought to light a strong Iron Age city-wall, encircling a city of about 40 acres (160,000 m²), the largest fortified city of this period as yet discovered in Palestine. The pottery belongs mostly to Iron Age I–II, with many Philistine sherds. One of our students, Mr. Joseph Naveh, has published an article[6] on this site, in which he proposes its identification with Ekron. It seems to me that the new discoveries leave no doubt that this identification is correct, and therefore the location of Timnah and Ekron becomes almost certain. It is now obvious that Sennacherib had to conquer at first the fortress to the north of Naḥal

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[1] One of these villages is *Khirbet Kafr 'Ânā*, situated on top of a high hill at a distance of 3 Km. N.W. of *Tell el-Baṭâshi*. We found here mainly Iron I and some Iron II sherds.

[2] Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 240; *ANET*, pp. 287 f.

[3] Quoted from *ANET*, p. 288.

[4] Albright, *AASOR* 2–3, 1921–2, pp. 3 f.; idem, *BASOR* 15, 1924, p. 8; Alt, *P.J.B.* 25, 1929, pp. 63 ff; Beyer, *ZDPV* 54, 1931, pp. 167 ff.; Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 319.

[5] Albright, *BASOR* 15, 1924, p. 8; idem, *BASOR* 17, 1925, pp. 5f.

[6] In *BIES* 22, 1957, pp. 178-198 (Hebrew).

Sorek and in the valley itself, before besieging Ekron to the south of it.[1]

The boundary description of Judah mentions כתף עקרון צפונה. Comparisons with similar passages indicate that we have here a geographical term, meaning the slope of the mountain to the north of the city.[2] Since *Khirbet el-Muqanna*ʿ, lies in the plain S. of Naḥal Sorek, it becomes quite clear that the border was here on the southern slope of the valley.

5·5 Km. N.W. of *Khirbet el-Muqanna*ʿ, just to the north of Naḥal Sorek, is *Tell el-Fûl*. This is a very small site of about half an acre, but it rises quite distinctly above the plain. We found there LB, Iron I and II sherds and we may therefore assume its identification with Shicron, mentioned only in the border description of Judah. It is worthwhile to note, that the fields S.E. of *Tell el-Fûl*, on the other side of the riverbed, are called *Esh-Shiqre* according to the modern map (1 : 20·000), and it is a well-known fact that ancient names are sometimes preserved only in field names.[3] Anyone standing on *Tell el-Fûl* will not doubt for a moment the location of Mount Baalat (הר הבעלה). 3·5 Km. N.W. of *Tell el-Fûl* rises the steep slope of *Mughâr*, just to the north of Naḥal Sorek, the only object which may be called a mountain in this coastal plain. The name of Mount Baalath is obviously connected with the Danite city Baalath (בעלת), mentioned after Ekron, Eltekeh and Gibbethon (Jos, xix, 44). We have therefore to look for the city in the near vicinity of the mountain or on the mountain itself.

Opposite *Mughâr* to the south of Naḥal Sorek, is the Tell of *Qaṭrā*, with remains of MB I, Iron I and II, and later periods.[4] We may therefore identify Baalath either with *Qaṭrā* or with *Mughâr* itself, where Kaplan discovered remains of the Chalcolithic, EB I, Iron II and later periods.[5] In any case Mount Baalat is in all probability the hill of *Mughâr*.

With the proposed identifications of Timnah with *Tell el-Baṭâshi*, Ekron with *Khirbet el-Muqanna*ʿ, Shicron with *Tell el-Fûl* and Mount Baalah with the hill of *Mughâr* it becomes obvious that the northern boundary of Judah ran from Beth-Shemesh to the coast along the *Wâdy eṣ-Ṣarâr* (Naḥal Sorek?), and all the sites mentioned were situated in the valley or its immediate vicinity.[1] The only exception is Ekron, the large north-eastern capital of the Philistines, which lies 3·5 Km. S. of the valley. However this exception only confirms our conclusion, because not only is there no doubt that the territory of Ekron reached the valley, but the border-description indicates explicitly " the slope to the north of Ekron," which brings us again to the line of the valley.

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[1] It is obvious that Eltekeh was N. of Ekron and W. of Timnah, but the evidence at our disposal does not allow its exact location. *Tell el-Melât* may be considered, but this Tell is usually identified with Gibbethon. A systematic survey of the area would bring us nearer to the solution of these topographical problems.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Jos. xv, 8: כתף היבוסי נגבה which means clearly the slope of the hill to the south of Jebus *i.e.* Jerusalem. The geographical meaning of כתף = mountain slope is now emphazised by the reading of the Hebrew tomb inscription חדר בכתף הצר... (N. Avigad, *IEJ* 5, 1945, 163 ff.). This "slope of the rock" is the slope of the Kidron valley opposite Jerusalem.

[3] However the similarity of the names is not complete, as *esh-Shiqre* has a q = ק instead of k = כ of שכרון, but the modern transliteration of the map may be slightly corrupted. It is interesting to note that *Khirbet el-Muqanna*ʿ too appears in the modern map only as a field-name opposite the ancient site.

[4] Albright, *BASOR* 15, 1924, p. 8; Kaplan, *BIES* 17, 1953, p. 140 (Hebrew).

[5] Kaplan, *BIES* 17, 1953, p. 141.

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[1] Note some other cases, where the border-description mentions for whole sections only the line of a valley, *i.e.* " the river of Egypt " (נחל מצרים) in the southern border of Judah (Jos. xv, 4); " the river Kanah " (נחל קנה) in the border between Ephraim and Manasseh (Jos. xvi, 8; xvii, 9); " the valley of Jiphthach-el " (גי יפתח־אל) at the north-western boundary of Zebulun (Jos. xix, 14), etc.

THE BOUNDARY OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH IN THE WESTERN PLAIN

By EVA DANELIUS

Continued

POSTSCRIPT TO IV[1]

According to a most recent observation made by Mr. J. Karmon, Geologist at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, the river silt on both sides of Wâdi el-Gharbi extends up to about 6 metres above sea-level at the spot where the wâdi debouches into the Mediterranean. This shows that the waters of the river used to reach a similar height in the past—an observation which corresponds exactly to that made on the Yarkon river, at the foot of Tell Qasîle, and referred to above. So far, geology has had no answer to the question whether the change in the water-level of these two rivers has taken place in historical times, or previously. It is tempting, though, to ponder the possibility, whether the Early and Middle Bronze Age city of Mekmish might not have been a harbour-town, which lost its splendour when the river upon which it was situated almost dried up during the geological disturbances, echoes of which have been preserved in the Hexateuch (see above, Part II, esp. p. 62, n. 2). After things had quietened down, a new harbour-city was built further south at the only remaining navigable river-mouth in the Sharon—(Al)Qaspuna.

V

The western boundary of Ephraim running north, along the seashore, was met by the western boundary of Manasseh, running south.

The western boundary of Manasseh is described in Joshua xvii, 7: "And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to *Mikhmath 'al-pᵉnei Shechem* ". The words *'al-pᵉnei Shechem* have been translated by the Vulgate, " *quae respicit Sichem* ". This is why all scholars looking for Mikhmath have concentrated their search on the mountains around Balata, the place which is supposed to have been ancient Shechem, in the heart of Mt. Ephraim. Though no hill was left uninspected, no stone unturned, no trace of Mikhmath has been found. Nor has that place ever been mentioned in the literature of the Samaritans[2].

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[1] Recording an observation made when Part IV of this article was already in the press.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Elliger, " Die Grenze zwischen Ephraim und Manasse ", *ZDPV* 53 (1930), p. 285.

The boundary between Manasseh and Asher, in the west, was the city of Dor[1]. This town has been identified with Tantura, to-day a little village upon the seashore, at a small natural bay, about 12 miles south of Haifa. From Dor, the boundary ran south, along the coast, till it reached the region allocated to Ephraim, at the northern end of Mikhmath = Mekmish, according to the reconstruction suggested in this paper.

The Septuagint knows nothing of a place called *Mikhmath ʿal-p^{e}nei Shechem*, in any of its four principal recensions[2], but calls the place Delanath. This observation asks for reconsideration whether the accepted translation of the Vulgate is correct.

Firstly, *ʿal-p^{e}nei* needs to be commented upon. The expression *ʿal-p^{e}nei*, when used with people, means literally " over (against) the face of " someone. In connection with territory (land or water), *ʿal-p^{e}nei* is used in the sense of over, *viz.*, above, upon the surface of (the land, water, etc.).[3] It has this same meaning when used in the Book of Joshua[4], though this has not been realized by translators unfamiliar with details of geography of the country.

In Part IV, it has been reported that the name Mikhmath was ingeniously connected, by the late Mr. Ori,[5] with Reshef-Mikhal, Reshef Omnipotens. *Mikhmath-ʿal-p^{e}nēi Shechem*, therefore, should be understood as that part of the city-territory which was " on the surface of " a Shechem.

The expression " one Shechem " is known from Genesis where it is mentioned by Jacob on his deathbed, as a gift bestowed upon Joseph.[6] There, the word is understood to mean a tract of land[7]. We venture the opinion, that the Shechem named in Joshua xvii, 7, has the same derivation, meaning a tract of land eventually set aside for a special purpose—which would be the perfect characterization of the place which corresponds to *Mikhmath ʿal p^{e}nei Shechem* in the Greek translation.

Turning to the Septuagint, we are confronted with the fact that Margolis and Rahlfs differ rather widely in their editing. Both are outstanding scholars and it is completely beyond the scope of anybody not a specialist to decide which reading should be preferred. As the student, nevertheless, has to come to a decision, he may find it by using a different approach.

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[1] Josh. xvii, 10, 11.

[2] The four principal recensions are: P (Palestinian), C (Constantinopolitan), S (Syrian), E (Egyptian): Margolis, *op. cit.*; cf. Harry M. Orlinsky; " The Septuagint—its use in Textual Criticism ", *The Biblical Archæologist*, 9 (1946), pp. 22–42.

[3] *Cf.* Gen. i, 2; i, 29; ii, 6; iv, 14 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Josh. xiii, 3 (on the land of Egypt). The mountain in Josh. xv, 8 is not "opposite" the valley, but " above " it, etc.

[5] With deep sorrow, we have to report the untimely passing away of Mr. Jacob Ori. Mr. Ori, who had been Inspector of Antiquities for the Southern Region of Palestine/Israel for almost 30 years was unequalled in his knowledge of this part of the country and a mine of information, of which he gave freely to the present author who is deeply indebted to him.

[6] Gen. xlviii, 22. The problem of " one Shechem " has been dealt with in detail by this author in an unpublished paper on this verse. Cf. also Part XI of this article.

[7] Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*; cf. also Dr. Shlomo Mandelkern, *Concordanzia leTnakh*, 3rd edn., Tel-Aviv, 1955. Mandelkern renders it by the Latin expression " *tractus terræ* ".

Margolis and Rahlfs prepared their editions after a most careful comparison of the main—or all—existing texts, working on strictly philological principles. Neither of them knew the places mentioned in the Book of Joshua from personal inspection. The country described was *terra incognita* to both. In this respect, the present writer enjoys a considerable advantage. She permits herself to make use of this advantage and will combine the two versions: she will choose among the variants which Margolis relegated to the bottom of the page while Rahlfs included them in the main text, and *vice versa*, those versions which fit best the geographical and archaeological facts still discernable to-day. This procedure is similar to that recommended by Prof. Orlinsky to the student who " finds it impossible to explain the LXX reading in the light of the reading preserved in the Hebrew text", and is perfectly legitimate.[1]

The combined Greek text would read as follows[2]: (R) καὶ ἐγενήθη ὅρια υἱῶν Μανασση (M) ἀπὸ Ασηρ (R) Δηλαναθ ἥ ἐστιν κατὰ πρόσωπον υἱῶν Αναθ, which is to be translated: "And the border went out from Asher to Delanath, which is in the face of (= on the territory of) the children of Anath . . . "

" Del-Anath " means a place where the goddess Anath reveals herself. The name, therefore, points to a holy district, possibly covered by a sacred grove in which stood a sanctuary to the goddess.

In other words, while the M.T. names only one border town, Mikhmath (viz., *Mikhmath ʿal pᵉnei Shechem*), the Septuagint names two different places—Ikasmon and Del-Anath. How is the difference to be explained?

As shown in Part IV, the harbour-city of Ikasmon was a relative newcomer, built at the southern end of the city's territory, while the older town Mekmish had stood in its north-western corner, at about 4 miles distance from Ikasmon. It is in the surroundings of the northern city—according to the M.T.—that we have to look for *Mikhmath ʿal-pᵉnei Shechem* = Del-Anath.

As repeatedly mentioned, Mikhmath=Mekmish has been supposed to be the town of Reshef. Reshef was the name of Baal in Israel and corresponds to Hadad in Northern Syria. His *parèdre* in Israel was the goddess Anath, and a double temple dedicated to Reshef and Anath has been excavated at Beth-Shean[3]. We know from the Scriptures that the worship of a queen of heaven went on right to the time of the destruction of the first temple[1]. This deity may be no other than the consort of the omnipotent Baal-Reshef. After the return from the Babylonian exile, pure monotheism prevailed and every trace of paganism was wiped out. If, therefore, a sanctuary to Reshef is buried under the sands of Mekmish, the place near Arsuf now covered by the Haram Sidna Ali might have been originally dedicated to Anath[2]. The distance between the two mounds is less than two miles and is roughly the same as that between the temples of Luxor and Karnak. Both sanctuaries would have been situated on the Mediterranean, upon the first sand-dune at the shore, and one may easily imagine processions by boat taking place between the two sanctuaries in the style so vividly described on Egyptian temple-walls.

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[1] Harry M. Orlinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Just in order to illustrate the differences, the words υἱῶν Ἀναθ which Rahlfs incorporated into the main text, were banished by Margolis to the bottom of the page and commented upon as " a deep-seated corruption ".

[2] The part of the sentence quoted according to Rahlfs is indicated by R, that from Margolis by M.

[3] Alan Rowe, *Excavations at Beisan*; L. H. Vincent, " Le Baal cananéen de Beisan et sa parèdre ", *Revue Biblique*, 1928, pp. 512–543. See also Albert Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Elephantine* (Paris, 1937), p. 636: " . . . Anat . . . à ce titre . . . est la parèdre du redoutable Rešeph-Mikal . . . "

Even more interesting than the story behind the name Del-Anath is that hinted at by the mentioning of the *Bᵉnei ʿAnath* in the context. The *Bᵉnei ʿAnath* must have been a Canaanite tribe or clan with functions comparable to those of the Hebrew tribe of Levi, the *Bᵉnei Levi*. They had to look after the sanctuary of the goddess and be responsible for its upkeep, and, as occasion required, to provide the priests. We know of the existence of the *Bᵉnei ʿAnath* from the Book of Judges where we are told that Shamgar Ben Anath " slew of the Philistines 600 men with an oxgoad "[3]. Also, Ben Anath was the name of a Syrian sea-captain signally rewarded by Ramses II[4]. If the *Bᵉnei ʿAnath* were settled in the southern Sharon, right on the shore of the Mediterranean, these two men could then be placed much more easily into a fitting surrounding.

Another highly interesting feature is the observation suggested by the Greek text that the Ephraimite clan of the children of Reshef and the Canaanite clan of the children of Anath lived very close together and almost must have shared their holy region to a certain extent and at a certain period. The tradition of the extreme holiness of this region was handed down through the ages. The Arabs call it *El-Ḫaram*, meaning the holy area around a sanctuary—a name applied only to the most venerated holy places (*e.g.* the field of Abraham at Hebron, or the Haram esh-Sherif in Jerusalem around the Dome of the Rock). An Arab writer of the 10th century A.D. called it

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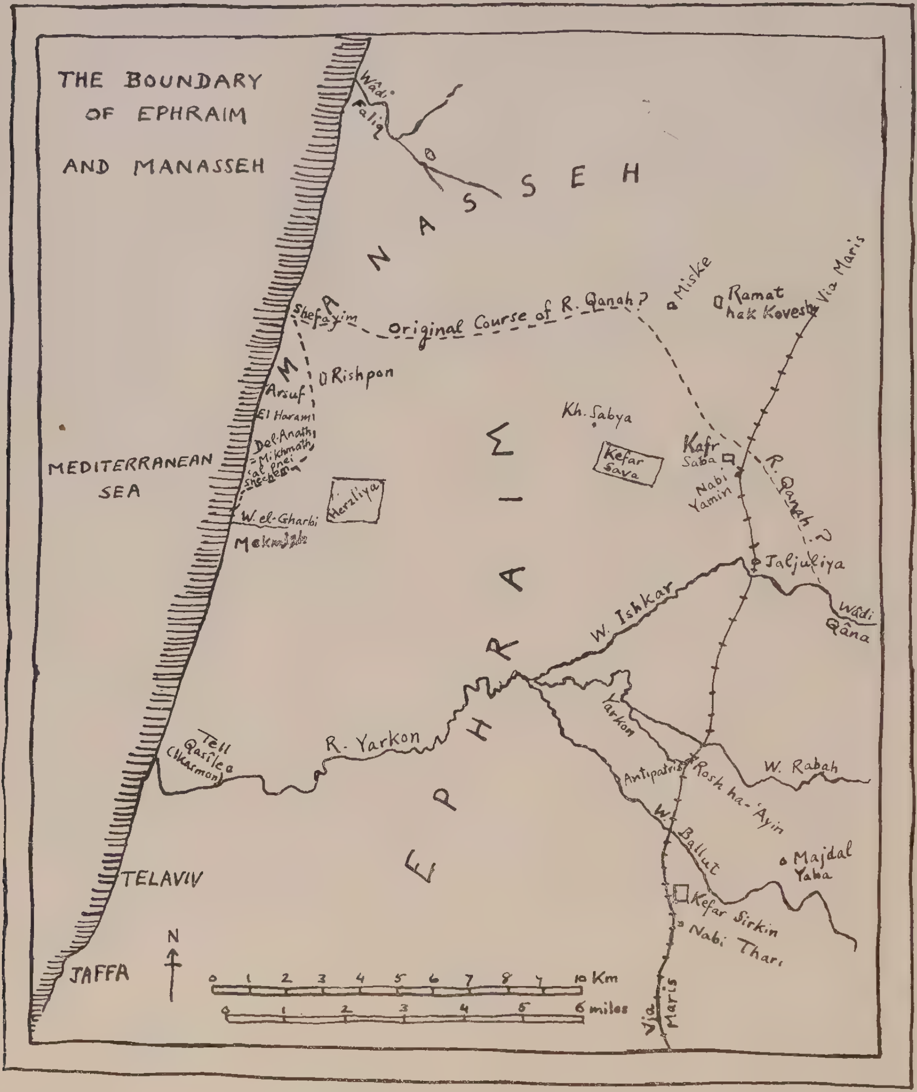
[1] Jeremiah xliv, 17 f.

[2] Displacements of names of towns and villages over a considerable area are frequently observed; see below. Parts VIII and IX, where more examples are given (Kfar Saba, Nebi Yamin). *Cf.* also W. F. Albright, " The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology ", *BASOR* 74, pp. 11–23. Albright speaks of having a large collection of these cases.

[3] Judges iii, 31. Shamgar is often supposed to have been an inhabitant of Beth Anath in Galilee. Albright wonders whether a Philistine tribe could have ever settled so far to the north (*Archæology and the Religion of Israel*, 2nd edn., 1946, p. 111).

[4] J. Garstang, *Joshua, Judges* (London, 1931), p. 63.

"the very navel of the Holy Land"[1]. Crusaders bowed to it[2]. Clermont-Ganneau, who had a quite unusual flair for these traditions, identified


THE BOUNDARY OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH
MANASSEH
EPHRAIM
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Wadi Faliq
Shefayim
Original Course of R. Qanah ?
Miske
Ramat hak Kovesh
Via Maris
Rishpon
Arsuf
El Harami
Del-Anath = Mikhmath 'al pnei Shechem
Herzliya
W. el-Gharbi
Kh. Sabya
Kefar Sava
Kafr Saba
Nabi Yamin
R. Qanah ?
Jaljuliya
Wadi Qâna
W. Ishkar
R. Yarkon
Yarkon
Tell Qasilea (Maasmon)
Antipatris
Rosh ha-'Ayin
W. Rabah
W. Ballut
Majdal Yaba
Kefar Sirkin
Nabi Thari
Via Maris
TELAVIV
JAFFA
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 miles

Resheph with Perseus on philological grounds, following it up over Horus to St. George; he was of the opinion that the story of Andromeda originated from these shores and had been transferred to Jaffa much later, and the same holds true for the dragon of St. George[1].

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[1] Mukadassi, *Description of Syria, including Palestine* (Pal. Pilgrims' Text Society, London, 1896), p. 86.

[2] Min. of Religion: *Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1950), p. 36.

All this, however, must remain pure guesswork, and so must the story of the *B^enei ʻAnath* as long as neither site has been excavated. In the case of El-Ḫaram (Arsuf), excavation seems out of the question as it is still holy to the Arabs and crowned by a stately mosque including a grave of a most holy man. Mekmish, however, is nothing but a bare sand-dune which may repay the lucky explorer with very unexpected finds.

Whatever the outcome will be, the statement of Chronicles according to which the Ephraimites settled the district of Reshef has been fully confirmed by the text of the Book of Joshua which deals with the boundary of the Joseph tribes in the Sharon Plain[2].

VI

After the excursus into Joshua xvii we have to return to verse 6 in chapter xvi, and take up the thread where it was dropped.

Having established the western boundary up to " Mikhmath in the north " the M.T. continues: " and the border turned east to Ta'anath-Shiloh " (literal translation). From Mikhmath on the Mediterranean shore, where the border of Ephraim was met by that of Manasseh, there was only one direction where the border could turn to, namely inland, to the east. But Ta'anath-Shiloh is already beyond Israel's border of to-day, and so are all the other places named in verse 6b and verse 7. After the border has reached its eastern end at Jericho (v. 7), a brief remark about the situation in the west is inserted in the next verse: " From Thappuah went the border to the sea, to the river Qanah, and its outgoings were to the sea; this is the inheritance of the tribe of Ephraim according to their families . . . " (v. 8).

Since the days of Robinson, 100 years ago, the river Qanah has been held to be identical with the Wâdi Qâna of to-day[3].

According to the *Survey of Western Palestine*, " wâdi Kânah rises . . . just south of Mt. Gerizim . . . With the exception of wâdi Deir Ballut, it is the most important natural feature . . ."[1] (in this part of the mountains, *i.e.*, Mt. Ephraim). It seems that the territory bordering Wâdi Qanah to the south and to the north has never been surveyed as to its geological structure as far as the wâdi runs between the hills[2].

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[1] *Revue Archéologique*, Vol. I, *loc. cit.*

[2] The intimate connection between the tribe of Joseph (Ephraim) and Reshef is confirmed by documents found in Egypt and Syria, where the theophoric name Joseph-Reshef or Epher-Reshef has turned up among other north-west Semitic names like Asher, Zebulun, and Issachar. The name baffled the archaeologists who had no explanation to offer. *Cf.* W. F. Albright, " Northwest Semitic names in a list of Egyptian slaves . . .", *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.*, Vol. 74 (1954), p. 222, where more examples are given; Charles Virolleaud, *La Légende de Keret, Roi des Sidoniens*, 1936, pp. 17, 54. Ginsberg, who tried to explode the " Negebite hypothesis " of Virolleaud, translated the name " . . . the pestilence gathered . . . " (H. L. Ginsberg *The Legend of Keret*, New Haven, 1946, p. 14).

[3] E. Robinson, *Neuere Biblische Forschungen in Palæstina. Tagebuch einer Reise im Jahre* 1852 (Berlin, 1857), p. 176. See also Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs*, Vol. II, *Samaria*, p. 299.

On entering the Sharon plain, the wâdi changes its name to Wâdi Yasin. Under that name, it crosses the present eastern boundary of Israel. It meanders through the plain, by-passes the Arab village of Jaljuliya south of it, and, taking a sudden unexpected turn of 90 degrees, empties into Wâdi el-Ishkar. Wâdi el-Ishkar runs in a south-westerly direction—Wâdi Yasin had been orientated north-west—and discharges into the river Yarkon near Tell el-Mukhmar, an Iron Age mound. From thereon westwards, the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh (and the river Qanah, which goes with it) are held to be identical with the river Yarkon—or, to be more correct, the ideal boundary, as the tribes never reached this part of the Plain, according to the ruling theory.

The features in the present course of Wâdi Yasin aroused suspicion as to the why's and when's of its sudden deviation from the original north-western direction. Wâdi Yasin when crossing south of Jaljuliya is a broad shallow depression, one of many in the wide undulating plain. I did not even realize that I was crossing a wâdi when I passed a low stone bridge under which lingered some water—exactly as in any other natural depression after weeks and weeks of unusual heavy winter rains. Enquiries among the local Arabs resulted in the information that according to tradition, the wâdi once ran north of Jaljuliya, till it suddenly changed direction for a reason no longer remembered—" about 400 years ago "[3]. This statement was made the object for a careful check on the nature of river-courses in the Sharon Plain.

The shifting of river courses over rather wide areas seems to have been well known to scholars who studied the nature of these surroundings in the 19th century. When contesting the view of Dr. Robinson that " the River Kanah became swallowed up in the 'Auja " (= Yarkon river) Dr. Thomson, who had spent 30 years as missionary in Syria and Palestine, argued as follows:—

> " The Doctor [i.e., E. Robinson] may possibly have been misled in regard to the final direction of his Wady Kanah, for *nothing is more eccentric than the course of the streams after they enter these plains.*

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

[2] V. Schwoebel, " Samarien: Das westpalaestinische Mittelland ", ZDPV 53 (1930), p. 33, footnote: " . . . gerade die noerdlichen and suedlichen Randgebiete des wādi kāna sind nicht geologisch aufgenommen ". As far as is known to this author, this gap has not been filled yet.

[3] The expression " 400 years ago " in the mouth of an Arab who narrates the story of Salah-ed-din's retreat to Jaljuliya after the battle of Arsur, in 1191, as if he, the narrator, had been an eye-witness, means simply " long, long ago ".

> Kitto makes the river of Arsûf, which enters the sea between Em Khâlid and El Haram, to be the Kanah of the Bible; and this is certainly far more probable than that the 'Auja is . . . ."[1].

Here, we get most valuable information, namely (1) the general observation that river-courses shifted constantly as soon as they reached the Sharon plain; (2) the existence of a river Arsûf, which has meanwhile vanished from the map; (3) the possibility that this river Arsûf might be (or might have been) the continuation of the river Qanah which ran through Mt. Ephraim.

Where, then, have we to look for this river Arsûf?

At the time of the 3rd Crusade, the name was given to the Yarkon river which runs 10 kilometres south of the city Arsur-Apollonia[2].

At another time, the river seems to have run farther north. On an ancient map once shown to this author, the river debouched right into the moat of the walled city of Arsûf, filling the trench to the brim with water so that the town looked like being an island in the Mediterranean. In the 19th century, Thomson and Kitto identified the river Arsur with the river Falik[3] which runs into the sea about 5 miles north of Arsuf. The same view was held by John Murray, who entered the river Arsuf on his map[4]. Thanks to the researches carried out by Edward Robinson, this map of Murray—which showed quite a lot of other inaccuracies—was replaced by a more correct one, on which the name " river Arsur " was replaced by " Nahr el-Falik "[5]. Hence the name has vanished from the maps.

The problem of the continuation of Wâdi Qana in the plain was then carried to two leading experts, on geophysics and on geology respectively.

Dr. A. Loehnberg, a geophysicist, in personal discussion as well as in his written opinion attached,[6] confirmed the view held by the 19th century explorers that " the valley of Wâdi Qana in Mt. Ephraim . . . cannot be related to the present lower course of the wâdi outside the mountain border ". The river, after having left the mountain belt, would most likely once have continued in a north-western direction, bypassing Jaljuliya and Nebi-Yamin to the east of these places, till its waters came up against an underground promontory at Miske-Ramat Haqovesh. From there on, Dr. Loehnberg considers two possibilities: a more northerly flow through Wâdi Faliq, or—a second choice—one in a westerly direction running into the sea south of Shefayim[1]. The reconstruction of river Qanah on the map (p. 36) has been carried out according to Dr. Loehnberg's second suggestion, which seems to fit more closely into the archaeological evidence.

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[1] W. M. Thomson, D.D., *The Land and the Book* (London, 1893); my italics. The quotation from Kitto in the text is made with no reference to the source (probably *Phys. Geog. of the Holy Land*; the book was inaccessible to the present writer). El Haram is the official Arabic name for the holy region surrounding the mosque of Sidna Ali near Arsuf (see above, p. 35). 'Auja is the Arabic name of the river Yarkon.

[2] Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, translated by M. J. Hubert and J. L. La Monte (New York, 1941), *v.* 6923.

[3] *Cf.* above. See also the map on p. 36.

[4] This map is attached to Vol. II of E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (London, 1841).

[5] This revised map was drawn by Kiepert and is added to E. Robinson, *Neuere Biblische Forschungen* . . . (Berlin, 1857).

[6] See Annex, p. 41. Cf. also A. and E. Loehnberg, " The buried structure of Rosh ha-'Ayin in the Central Coastal Plain of Israel ", *Isr. Expl. Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 145–152. The author wishes to thank Drs. Loehnberg and Shalem for their generous support and interest, and patience, with which they have answered her many questions concerning this problem.

The second expert with whom the problem has been discussed repeatedly is Dr. N. Shalem, Head of the Geomorphological and Quaternary Section, Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem). According to Dr. Shalem, shiftings of river-beds in the Sharon in historical times are not only possible, but most probable. Unfortunately, Dr. Shalem was unable to venture any opinion as to details of possible river-courses, owing to the lack of a systematic geomorphological survey of the Sharon.

There is a second particular in which the identification of *nakhal Qanah* of the 2nd millenium B.C. with the Wâdi Qana of the 20th century A.D. might have to be modified: a wâdi is a canyon which is dry in summer and overflowing after each heavy winter rain, whereas a *nakhal* is a perennial stream[2].

Some years ago an investigation was carried out in North-eastern Iraq during which proof was obtained of the fact that a " minor pluvial climate " reigned there at a time estimated about 750–600 B.C.[3] During this period, rivercourses which appear now as wâdis may have been perennial streams. During a similar investigation along the coast of the Lebanon, at the northern border of Israel, signs were found for the existence of a pluvial climate associated with a time of low sea-level. As mentioned above, a period of a sinking sea-level has been established at about 1500–1200 B.C. At that time, too, the *nakhal Qanah* should have been a real river with a perennial flow[4].

To summarize: Nakhal Qanah of Joshua xvi and xvii might be identical with Wâdi Qâna of to-day as far as it runs down through the western slopes of Mount Ephraim. Upon entering the Sharon plain, the river most probably followed a different course from that chosen by the present Wâdi Yassin and Wâdi Ishkar. Nakhal Qanah, after having left the hills north-east of Jaljuliya, ran north-east of that village, keeping to a north-western direction, by-passing Nabi Yamin in the direction of Miske-Ramath Haqovesh, where it turned west and discharged its waters into the Mediterranean, north of Arsuf, south of Shefayim. The river, at the time of the conquest and several hundred years thereafter, might have been a perennial stream.

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[1] Cf. also the various geological maps in R. Koeppel, *Palæstina* (Tübingen, 1930), esp. maps 7–15, 48–53. Nakhal Qanah is the only river along the entire shore which would run counter to the geological folds—which seems highly improbable.

[2] Gen. xxxii, 34; Deut. iii, 16; Josh. xii, 2; 1 Kings xvii, 6, etc.

[3] H. E. Wright, Jr., " The Geological Setting of Four Prehistoric Sites in Northern Irag ", *BASOR* 128 (Dec., 1952), pp. 11–24. The quotation is from p. 22.

[4] See Part II above (p. 66, nn. 2, 3). Dr. Shalem does not believe in a substantial change of climate in historical times. He agrees, however, that the " river " Qanah might have been a perennial stream at various periods in historical times owing to tectonic changes, especially in the highly vulnerable region of Mt. Gerizim—a theory which serves our purpose equally well.

Annex

Excerpt of a letter sent by Dr. A. Loehnberg, Geophysical Surveys, Ltd., Israel, to Dr. E. Danelius (Oct. 7th, 1956).

" In connection with your paper on the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh you are interested to know whether Wâdi Qana—after it leaves Mount Ephraim—follows an ancient course in joining the Yarkon river S.W. of Jaljuliya, or whether it may have flowed differently during the recent geological past.

" The valley of Wâdi Qana in Mount Ephraim represents an old, perhaps even an ancient, morphological feature. Its genesis preceded the Quaternary-Pliocene sedimentation of the coastal plain and cannot, therefore, be related to the present lower course of Wâdi Qana outside the mountain border. It appears highly probable that Wâdi Qana was captured by the Yarkon River in the recent geological past and that—even in early historical times—it proceeded on a more independent course to the north of the Yarkon.

" The most likely continuation of Wâdi Qana into the sea would be Wâdi Faliq. A second choice might be the depression between Ramat Haqovesh—Bnei Zion—Shefayim . . .

"As to the question whether Wâdi Qana may have been a permanently flowing stream in its lower course the following possibilities exist:

> (1) Wâdi Faliq crosses the coastal sand dune belt and cuts into the water horizon of the coastal aquifer. It, therefore, contains fresh water all the year round. This phenomenon may have been accentuated during the recent geological past, in quantity and in space, due to the previously higher position of the underground water table. This means that Wâdi Faliq and its possible connection with Wâdi Qana may have carried a larger flow to the sea, and the permanency of the flow may have extended further E. or S.E. than to-day.
>
> (2) Part (or the whole) of the Yarkon flow may have debouched into Wâdi Qana somewhere N. or N.W. of the Yarkon bend (4–8 km N.W. of Rosh Ha'ayin).

" Because of lack of detailed knowledge on the palaeohydrography of the coastal plain my above observations are necessarily hypothetical. I think however, that we possess to-day the scientific and technical means at our disposal to clarify your questions with greater confidence, if such an enquiry is desirable. With the aid of air photo-interpretation, geophysical, geological and morphological investigations it should be possible to obtain a fairly accurate picture of the development of Wâdi Qana during the last 10,000 years or so . . . "

VII

We now have to return to *Mikhmath ʿal p*^{e}*nei Shechem*, the southernmost point of the western border of Manasseh.

The Septuagint continues (xvii, 7): *καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια ἐπὶ Ιαμιν καὶ Ιασσιβ ἐπὶ πηγὴν Θαφθωθ.*

The accumulation of the word ἐπί in this verse has been commented upon by Elliger, who eliminated the ἐπί before the word ὅρια [1]. Margolis must have shared this view, as the word ἐπί at this place does not appear in his version of the text which otherwise is almost similar to that of Rahlfs: *καὶ πορεύεται τὰ ὅρια ἐπὶ Ιαμειν καὶ Ιασειβ ἐπὶ πηγὴν Θαφφωε.*

According to the opinion of the present writer, the Greek translator must have been intimately familiar with the region described by him. If he put in an ἐπί before ὅρια he must have had his reason and it is our task to find it.

The clue was discovered in the twofold meaning of the word ὅριον, the " coast " of the King James Version: ὅριον does mean " coast ", but it means also " roadstead ", " anchorage ". To Margolis and Elliger, who thought that they were dealing with a mountain district, the possibility of this other meaning of the word simply did not occur; therefore, they eliminated the ἐπί before it. From the point of philology, however, elimination probably could not be justified—and this seems the reason why Rahlfs included the word in the main text though it probably did not make sense to him, either. We are indebted to Rahlfs for this demonstration of scientific honesty by which he enabled this writer to establish another boundary-point.

According to Flavius Josephus the shore of Palestine between Dor and Jaffa suffered from the lack of a suitable harbour and incoming ships had to ride at anchor on open roadsteads[2]. The only town along this stretch of the shore named by Josephus, besides Straton's Tower (where, later on, Herod built Caesarea) and Jaffa, was Apollonia[3].

From written history we know that Arsur-Apollonia always possessed a harbour, viz., an open roadstead for larger vessels, from the time of the Seleucids until the destruction of the Crusaders' fortress Arsur by Baibars, in A.D. 1265. The reason seems to have been a natural one: " There has been observed, at the ancient harbour of Arsuf, a slight bend in the coastline ascribed to an underground geological structure discovered only quite recently "[1]. It appeals to reason, therefore, that the *ὅριον* mentioned in the Greek text of the third century B.C. might refer to a roadstead at the border of Del-Anath.

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[1] Elliger, " Thappuah ", *Palästinajahrbuch* 33 (1937), p. 16, n. 2.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities* XV, 9 : 6.

[3] *Antiquities*, XIII, 15. The Apollonia of Josephus is supposed to have been the forerunner of the Byzantine city Sozousa, and the Crusaders' city and fortress Arsur.

In other words: the territory of Manasseh ended at the holy district of *Mikhmath ʿal p*^{e}*nei Shechem* (= Del-Anath), the exact boundaries of which we do not know. This district might have extended beyond the present ruins of the Crusaders' city of Arsur, including the fields north of it, which still bear the old name, Ar-Rusuf. The border went forth to a roadstead which might have been at the same place where the ruins of a little harbour are still visible in the shallow waters at the foot of the Crusaders' fortress; or it was a little farther north near the supposed original mouth of the river Qanah, south of Shefayim.

To be continued

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[1] A. and E. Loehnberg, " The buried structure of Rosh ha-ʿAyin ", *Isr. Expl. Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 149.

NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC SITES IN THE VALLEY OF BETH-SHAN

By N. Tzori

In the course of archaeological survey-work[1] undertaken by the author in the valley of Beth-Shan since 1945, among a total of 130 sites, some hitherto unnoticed Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites were discovered. Much information about these sites is due to the activity of some members of the Kibbutzim-Gesher, Hamadiya, Kefar-Ruppin and Tirat-Tzevi, in the vicinity of which these sites are situated.

The geological problems of the Valley of Beth-Shan are resumed by Dr. L. Picard (ZDPV 52, 1929, pp. 24–91; 55, p. 169).

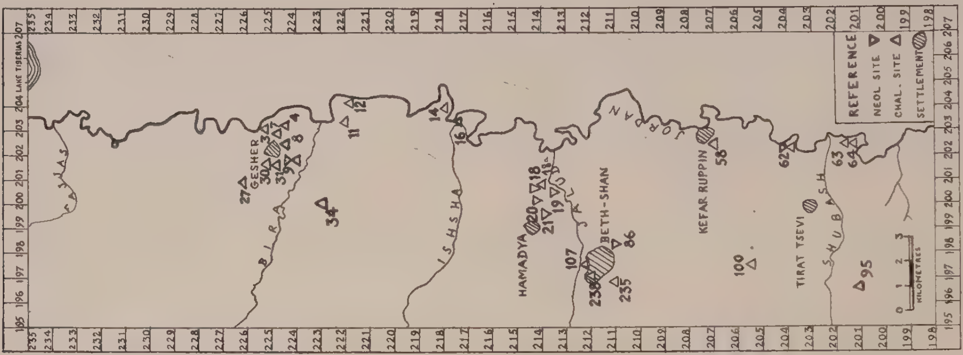
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Fig. 1. Valley of Beth-Shan.

I. Neolithic Sites

(*a*) *Gesher area*

Site 9, *el-Munhata* (grid ref. 2018/2240) on the terrace above (40 m.) the Jordan river. The place is indicated on the map as a parcel of land. The vineyard and grain-fields of Gesher surround the site now. On an area of 25 acres, Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains are scattered. Soundings made by the author in the name of the Department of Antiquities of Israel revealed five levels, among them an apsidal and a rectangular structure and some pavements of basalt and limestone.

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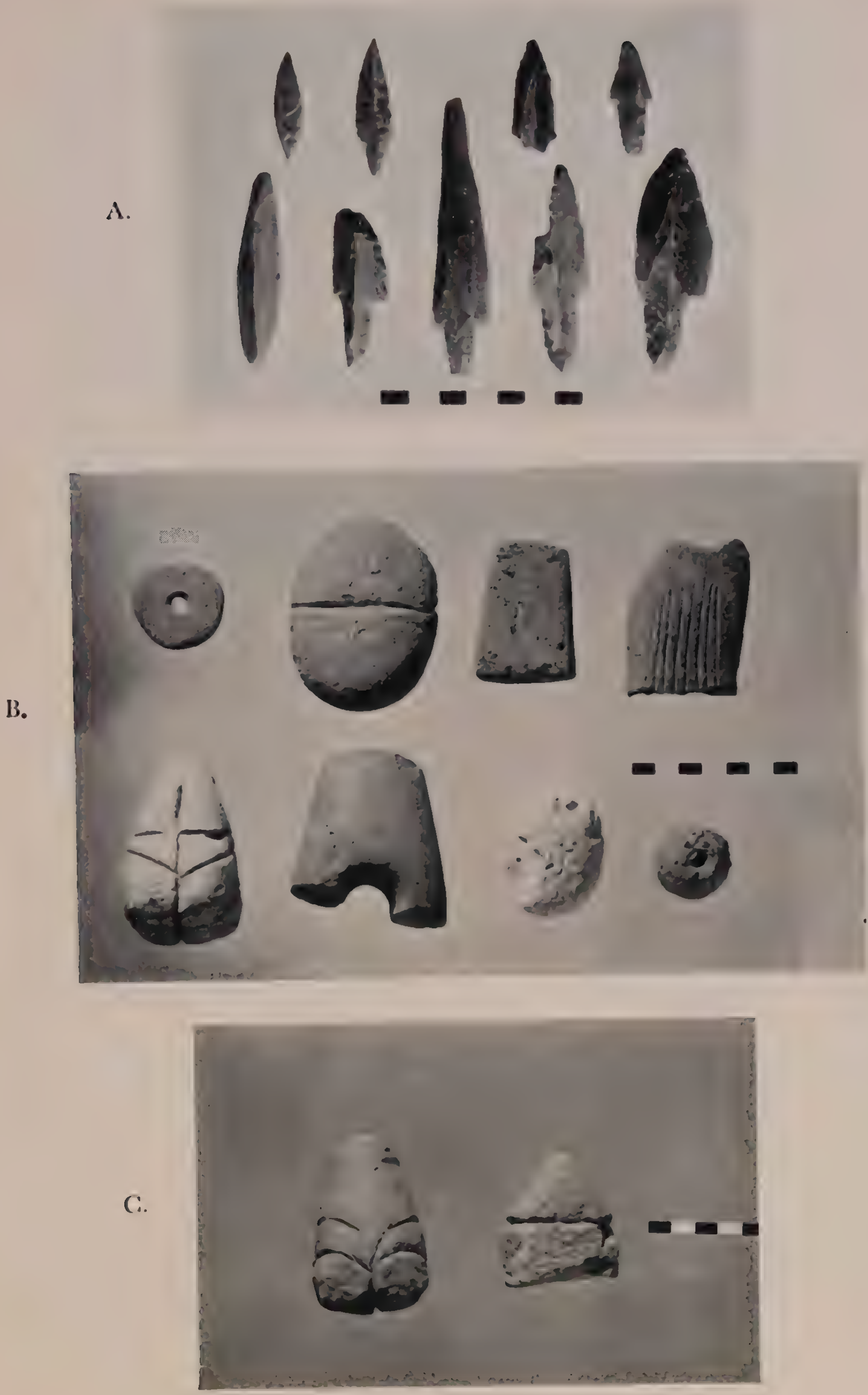
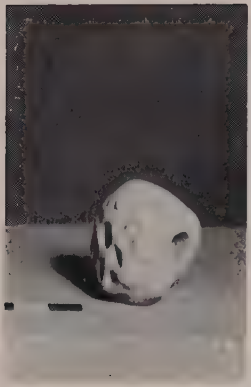
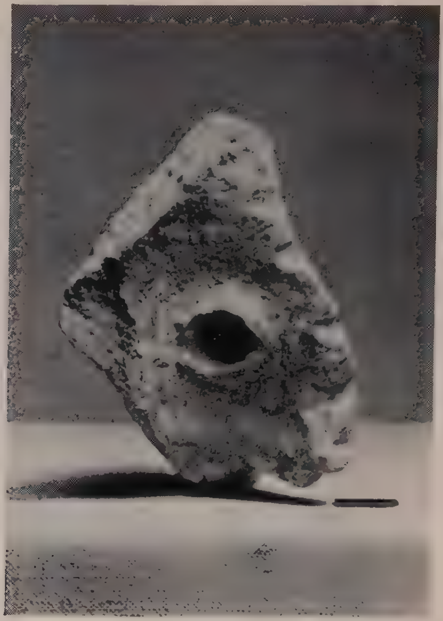
[1] Cf. also W. F. Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," AASOR VI, pp. 13ff; A. Bergman and Ruth Brandstetter (Amiran), "Archeological trips in the Valley of Beth-Shan," BJPES 8 (1941), pp. 85–90.



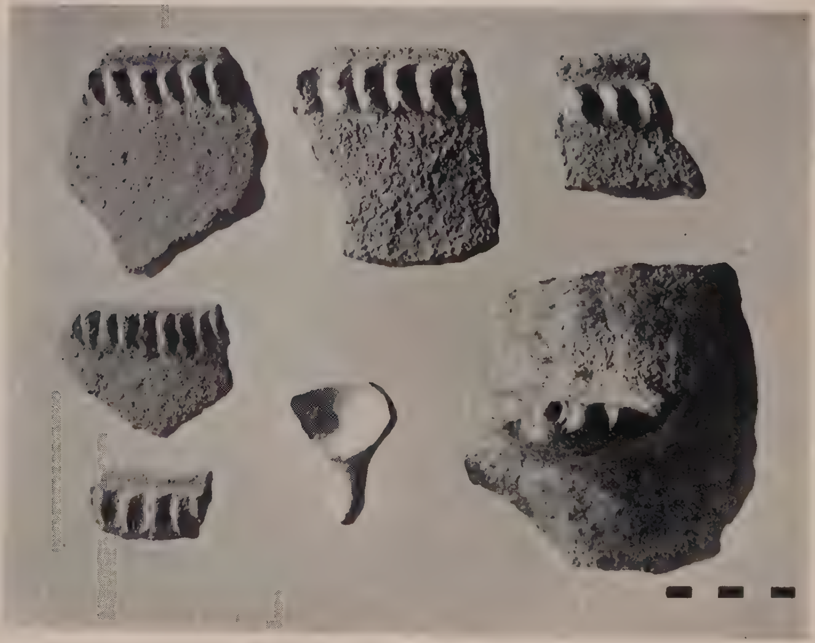
Neolithic stoneware from el-Munhata. (Site 9).



A. Chalcolithic stone seal from Tell esh-Shemdin. (Site 4).



B.



C.

B, C. Chalcolithic potsherds from el-Munhata. (Site 9).

The lithic material is of yellow and brownish flint and includes axes, blades, saws, sickle-blades, scrapers, spearheads and arrow-heads (Pl. II A) (mostly with wings, similar to Jericho IX — J. Garstang, *Jericho*, p. 53, Pl. VIII), and a few obsidian implements. There are also stone vessels and implements, stone ovoid pebbles showing incised grooves (Pl. II B) and a limestone figure is worth mentioning (Pl. II C): it recalls the figurines from Shaar ha-Golan (see M. Stekelis, I.E.J. vol. I (1950–1), p. 11, Pl. III: 2).

Pottery—Worth noting are knobs and small loop handles. Decoration consists of herring-bone ornaments like those at Shaar ha-Golan in Israel, and Byblos (Fig. 2, Pl. III A), also incised decoration as at Mersin (see J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin*, p. 19, Fig. 10 : 1) and Byblos (RB 1950, Pl. XII : I, 4) besides black and red burnished ware, similar to that at Jericho (AAA XXII, pp. 169–174; XXIII, p. 82, Pl. XXIX) and Mersin (op. cit., p. 18). A large number of animal bones were scattered over the area.

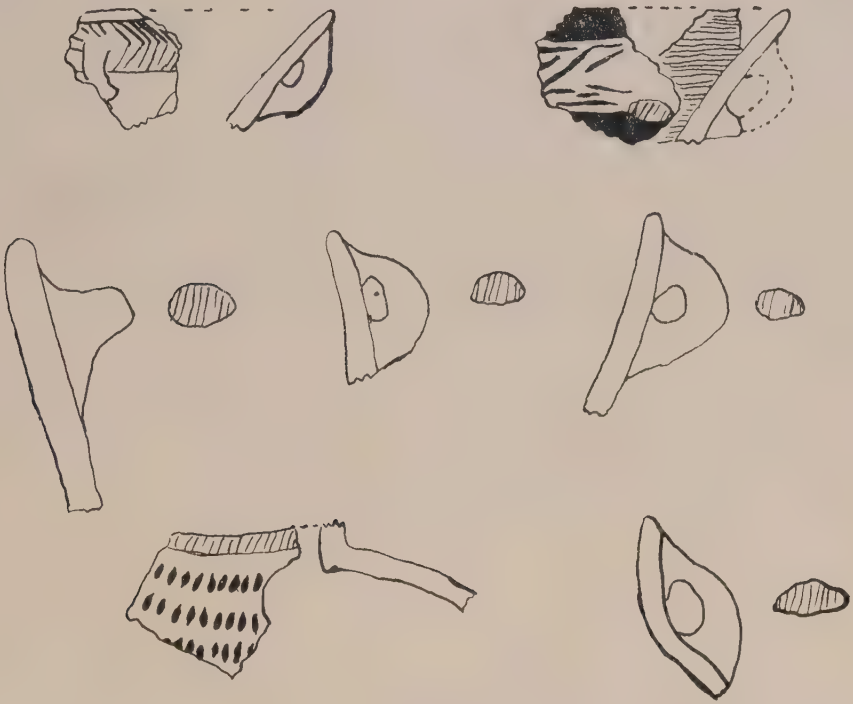


Fig. 2. Neolithic pottery from el-Munhata (Site 9).

(*b*) *Hamadiya area*—In this area the Jalud river is more deeply incised and some springs flow there. There are four sites, 2–2½ km. westwards from the Jordan, on the left river terrace.

Site 18. *Sh. Salih* (grid ref. 2008/2139). Pre-pottery remains were picked up: one arrow-head with wings, picks and scrapers. The remains of the later cultures on the site are: MB II, EI I, II, Persian, Hellenistic and early Arabic.

Site 19, *Tell el-Barta* (grid ref. 2005/3135). This small mound is shown on all maps. On its western slope some flint tools were picked up. Among other remains one rim of a stone vessel decorated with herring-bone incised ornament was found. The later cultures on the site are: EB, MB II and EI.

Site 20, *el-Khirbeh es-Soda* (grid ref. 2000/2421). On an area of 50 acres a large number of remains are scattered. The lithic material consists of greyish flint and includes axes, scrapers and saws. Besides implements of types current in the country, there are some arrow-heads (Pl. III B) recalling certain foreign specimens (for examples compare V. G. Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 30, Fig. 2: c, d). *Pottery:* many shapes of rims, knob and small loop handles. Decoration includes various ornaments: herring-bone, incised strokes and black to greyish burnishing (Pl. IV A) like the decoration at el-Munhata (see Site 9, p. 1).

Site 21, *Hamadiya* (grid ref. 1994/2138) is situated 600 m. westwards from the last mentioned site, on the eastern slope of the rocky hill of the Kibbutz Hamadiya and 100 m. above the Jordan river level. A pre-Pottery Neolithic site was discovered there. The lithic material is of greyish flint and includes a quantity of axes, picks (Pl. IV B), scrapers, saws and sickle-blades.

Site 62, *Makhadat as-Saghir* (grid ref. 2023/2039) dominating the Jordan Ford. West and northwards of it there are two small springs. One knob handle was picked up there and some mud-bricks with straw are scattered here and there. A large quantity of late Roman pottery is scattered over a large area.

Site 86, *Ain Umm el-Flus* (grid ref. 1984/2113) is situated westwards of the spring, on the terrace-slope. The site revealed a pre-Pottery Neolithic culture. The material is of greyish and yellowish flint, and includes axes, picks, sickle-blades and arrow-heads.

A large quantity of Persian and Hellenistic remains is scattered over a big area there.

II. Chalcolithic Period

The remains to be dealt with next include flint tools and pottery similar to those from Teleilat Ghassul and Levels XVI-XVIII of Beth-Shan. The Pottery comprises, among other shapes, rims with finger-impressions, handles from large storage jars and decoration consists of bands with finger-impressions.

(*a*) *Gesher area*

Site 3, *Animal Quarantine Station* (grid ref. 2032/2254) lies close to the Jordan river. Between the hutments and the courtyard flint tools and potsherds of shapes and decoration described above are scattered. Among others the upper part of a storage-jar with small lug-handles and decorated with band with finger-impressions was found (see Pl. IV C). Basalt and limestone vessels are scattered here and there and some biconical spindle-whorls were picked up. The remains are scattered along the railway and the plantations of Kibbutz Gesher on an area more than 25 acres.

Site 4, *Tell esh-Shemdin* (grid ref. 2032/2243) on the PEF map, sheet IX—indicated but not named. This is an oblong mound, 12 m. above the Zor level. At the south-eastern edge some potsherds ornamented with a band showing finger-impressions were picked up. A stone seal (Pl. V A), similar to the seal from Teleilat Ghassul (TG I, p. 75, Fig. 28, I) was found. The remains of the later periods are: EB, MB II, EI I, II, Persian and Arabic.

Site 7, *el-Hadid* (grid ref. 2027/2243) is a shallow site (230/50 m.) situated on the edge of the Zor close to the terrace. Some flint tools and gritty potsherds belonging to the Chalcolithic Period were picked up. Remains of later Periods—EB III (Khirbet-Kerak ware), E-MB and Persian—are scattered there.

Site 8, *Giveat ham-Mokeshim* (grid ref. 2025/2244) seems to be Ez-Zanbaqiye of the PEF map, situated on the end-terrace. Some finger-impressed rims, some flint implements, and one axe, were picked up. Two biconic pierced pebbles and one basalt pebble with lustrous surface and an incised groove were found. Remains of subsequent periods EB I, II, III (Khirbet Kerak ware) are scattered in large quantities.

Site 9, *Munhata* (see also p. 44). A stone pavement like the one discovered at Beth-Shan, Shikkun Aleph (see below Site 238, p. 50) was revealed there. Lithic remains included among other current shapes, one fan-scraper. Among the potsherds (Pl. V B, C) besides types described above, some carinated dishes like those from XVI level of Beth-Shan were found (see G. M. FitzGerald, "The Earliest Pottery of Beth-Shan," *Museum Journal* XXIV, 1935, p. 10, Pl. III: 1, 2); *cf.* Fig. 3.

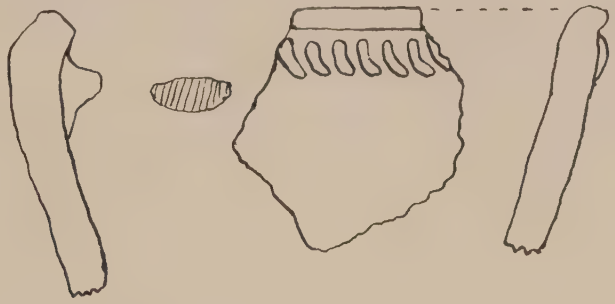


Fig. 3. Chalcolithic pottery from el-Munhata (Site 9).

Site 27, *Tell Idma* (grid ref. 2009/2262). Below the mound to the south a terrace exists overlooking the Wadi Idma. On an area of 13 acres approximately, a quantity of flint implements and pottery are scattered. The flint tools include axes, scrapers and sickle-blades. Among the pottery, besides types described above, some grey-burnished bowls are found.

Site 30, *Gesher* (grid ref. 2020/2252) is Tell esh-Shemdin of PEF map, situated on the eastern slope of the rocky hills, close to the main road to Tiberias, 100 m. above the Jordan river level. Some remains of basalt and limestone structures are visible in the road-section and in the bed of the small southern wadi. On an area of 15 acres approximately of the terrace-site, flint implements and potsherds are scattered here. The flint remains include axes, sickle-blades, scrapers and picks. The pottery includes shapes and decoration described above. There and in the boundary of Kibbutz Gesher below, some remains of structures and potsherds from the transition period Early Bronze Age to the Middle Bronze Age I were found.

Site 31, *Ain Faz* (grid ref. 2016/2249) is situated 200 m. to the south-west, on the hill-slope, in the vicinity of the small spring. On a small area some flint implements made in the Mesolithic Technique and some very gritty potsherds were picked up. Some potsherds from the MB II, EI II and Byzantine Periods are also scattered there.

Site 34, *Kh. Badriye* (grid ref. 2201/2232) is shown on PEF map, sheet IX only, and is situated in the rocky hills, 275 m. above Jordan river level. The site is covered with large heaps of stones, which are crossed by the IPC Pipe line. Some flint implements—nuclei and flakes made in the Mesolithic Technique—were picked up. A few potsherds, one lug-handle and one flat base were found there. Otherwise the main remains of pottery belong to the Byzantine and Crusading Periods.

(*b*) *Neveh-Ur area*

Site 11, *IPC Pipe line* (grid ref. 2035/2220), on the fields of Kibbutz Neveh-Ur. On an area of 25 acres approximately on the terrace 50 m. above the Jordan river level, flint implements and potsherds are scattered. The lithic material is of greyish and yellowish flint and includes a few axes and flakes. The pottery consists of shapes and decorations described above. Among them some potsherds decorated with triangles and asymmetrical bands in red were picked up.

Site 12, *Tell Musa* (grid ref. 2042/2218), Tell esh-Sheikh Kasim on the PEF map Sheet IX—situated at the Zor, 50 m. above the Jordan river level and close to the riverside. Large quantities of potsherds include among other Chalcolithic remains the fragments of two churns like those of Beersheba Plain (see J. Perrot, " The Excavation at Tell Abu Matar near Beersheba," IEJ 1955, p. 82, Fig. 16 : 5). There is a great number of remains of subsequent Periods: EB, MB II, LB, EI I, II, Byzantine and Arabic times.

(*c*) *Beit-Yosef/Wadi el-Ish-sha area*

Site 14, *Zor Razine* (grid ref. 204/218) is a very shallow site. On an area of 15 acres approximately flint tools and potsherds were picked up, among them nuclei, flakes and sickle-blades. Pottery including remains as described above is scattered there. In addition, four Roman Milestones were revealed there and will be published in due course separately.

Site 16, "*Tell Ismail*" (grid ref. 2032/2175) is a shallow site situated 100 m. eastwards from Tell Ismail (which is marked on recent maps). On an area of 15 acres flint implements and pottery are scattered there. Its shapers and decoration were described above. Some potsherds of EB, EI, I II and Byzantine periods were picked up also.

(*d*) *Hamadiya area*

Site 18, *a*, (grid ref. 2011/2139) 150 m. eastwards from Sh. es-Salih, a small mound (50/15 m.) is situated. On its top and slopes flint tools and potsherds from the Chalcolithic Period were picked up, besides potsherds from EI I.

(*e*) *Kefar-Ruppin area*

Site 58, *el-Khisa* (grid ref. 2025/2070) is a small and shallow site, surrounded by fish ponds of Kibbutz Kefar-Ruppin now. A few sherds of shape and decoration described above were picked up. Remains of MB II Period are scattered there.

(*f*) *Tirat-Tzevi-Wadi Shubash area*

Site 63, *el-Jemain* (grid ref. 2025/2016) is a small mound with a steep slope at the east. Northwards of it is the small spring Ain el-Jemain. On its slopes and top potsherds of shapes and decoration described above were picked up, besides pottery from subsequent periods EB, MB II, EI I, II, Persian, Byzantine and Arabic.

Westwards of this mound are some shallow hillocks on which large quantities of flint implements and potsherds are scattered, all belonging to the Chalcolithic Period and of types described above.

Site 64, *el-Sufuh* (grid ref. 2023/2014) is situated 300 m. southwards from el-Jemain. This site consists of three shallow hillocks, the eastern slope of the eastern one descends sharply to the Jordan and its fords. Quantities of flint tools and potsherds are scattered there. The lithic material is of yellowish flint and includes axes, picks, scrapers and sickle-blades. The pottery includes fragments of shapes and decoration described above.

Site 95, *Tell Maqhuz* (grid ref. 1955/2012), Kabr Ehsen on the PEF map. Northwards of it and by the Jericho road is a small spring. In one of the defence-trenches there a few potsherds of shapes and decoration described were picked up, together with remains of subsequent Periods—EB MB II, EI I, II, Persian and Byzantine.

Site 100, *Water pool of Sedeh-Eliyahu* (grid ref. 1974/2056) is situated on the upper terrace southwards of Tell es-Sarim. In the course of digging-work for water-pools, flint implements and potsherds were revealed. A sounding made by Mr. F. Goldschmidt in the name of the Department of Antiquities of Israel revealed some remains including flints and pottery of shapes and decoration as described above.

Site 107, *Tell el-Husn.* This is the well-known site on whose southern side excavations were carried out by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, and revealed XVI-XVIII Levels from the Chalcolithic Period (see G. M. FitzGerald, " The Earliest Pottery of Beth-Shan", *The Museum Journal*, vol. XXIV, 1935).

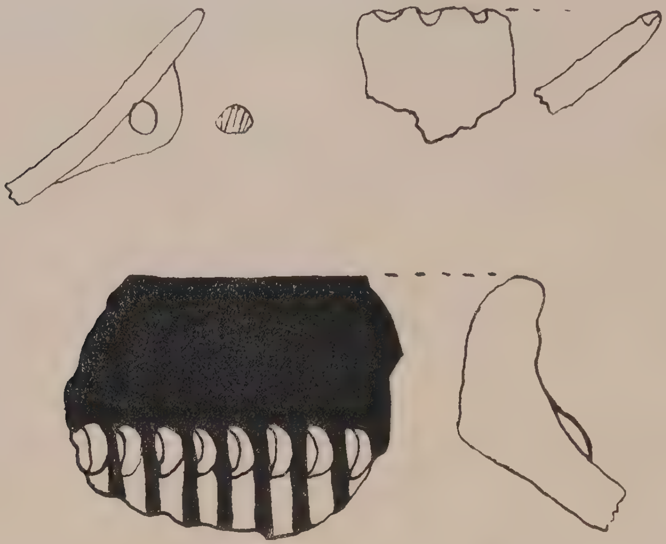


Fig. 4. Chalcolithic pottery from Beth-Shan (Site 235).

Site 235, *Beth-Shan, Shikkun Vaw* (grid ref. 1971/2108) is situated 1½ km. southwards from Tell el-Husn and consists of three shallow hillocks. On an area of 25 acres approximately there are remains of structures, flint implements, among which are axes and blades and pottery including shapes and decoration described above (Fig. 4). Among others a fragment of a churn similar to the one found at Tell el-Musa (see site 12, p. 48) was picked up. In addition two intact bowls of basalt were revealed there. Some graves belonging to Roman times were discovered there. One of these dating to the Late Roman Period was dug by the author in the name of the Department of Antiquities of Israel.

Site 238 *Beth-Shan, Shikkun Aleph* (grid ref. 1971/2121) situated on the upper terrace 400 m. south-westwards from Tell el-Husn. In course of excavation carried out by the Department of Antiquities under the direction of the author a fifth Level belonging to the Chalcolithic Period was discovered there. At the depth of 2½ m. below surface there were some pits dug in the red virgin soil and a pavement made of pieces of tufa, basalt and limestone. The mass of lithic material is of greyish and yellowish flint and includes axes, picks and sickle-blades. The pottery consists of shapes and decorations as described above. The remains of the subsequent Periods are Persian, Late Roman, Early Byzantine and Late Byzantine (see AJA 59, 1955, pp. 65–166, Pl. 52: S. Yeivin, *Archeological Activities in Israel* (1948–1955, p. 11).

SUMMARY

In the Neolithic Period seven sites were established in the delta area ot the rivers el-Bire, el-Ish-sha and Jalud in the Valley of Beth-Shan. Four of them are concentrated in the Jalud area. Two sites (9, 21) were abandoned during subsequent Periods.

In the Chalcolithic Period, agricultural settlement was enlarged threefold. During this Period some settlements (sites 27, 34) were established in the hill country. Some sites were abandoned later (six—numbers 3, 9, 11, 14, 16 and 27—out of 12 sites were established in the Gesher-Beit Yosef area, two sites, numbers 64 and 100, out of four in the Tirat Tzevi area, one site, number 235, out of three in the Beth-Shan area).

It seems that the water-supply to the sites numbers 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 27, 30 and 31 came from Wadi el Bire and to the sites numbers 11, 12, 14, 16 from Wadi el-Ish-sha and number 18 from Wadi Jalud as in the recent period. It seems likely that the Chalcolithic farmers irrigated the fields by means of canals from the above mentioned rivers rather than from the Jordan. The density of occupation and the prosperity of the early agriculture is due to the water resources in the Valley of Beth-Shan.

It seems likely that by archaeological work on the 130 sites at the Valley of Beth-Shan the picture might be changed, and some more Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites be revealed, especially underneath the mass of buildings at the fortified towns like Tell es-Sarim, Tell el-Manshiye etc., but our short survey throws new light on the first steps of the agricultural life in the Valley of Beth-Shan in the fifth and fourth millennium B.C.

DOG AND CAT IN THE NEOLITHIC OF JERICHO

By F. E. Zeuner

The fauna from the pre-pottery Neolithic levels of the Tell of Jericho is of particular interest as it yields valuable information concerning the earliest stages of domestication. The fragmentary condition of the bones, however, makes determination difficult and laborious, especially as errors which would be irrelevant in late sites have to be avoided. These errors are of two types. First it is tempting to mistake fragments of pig, cattle, etc., as evidence for domestication and to forget that their wild ancestors existed in abundance in the same region at the time. It is essential therefore to scrutinize the specimens for characteristics indicating domestication but, unfortunately, the differences between wild forms and their immediate domesticated descendants are slight, and in certain bones non-existent. The second difficulty is the distinction of closely related species, particularly among the ruminants, which require, and indeed deserve, much further study. As an example, the group sheep-goat-ibex may be mentioned, on which the writer has already published a brief report (1955), establishing the presence of domesticated goats in the pre-pottery Neolithic of Jericho. Meanwhile, a much larger amount of material has been studied, and so far no evidence for the presence of sheep has been found. The composition of the fauna of pre-pottery Jericho thus still appears essentially the same as in 1955, comprising a very high proportion of game, including wild cattle and wild pig. Gazelle appears to have provided the chief meat supply of the city. No further evidence has so far been obtained regarding the question raised in my previous paper, whether gazelles were hunted only, or to some extent herded with the aid of dogs, or kept in captivity in enclosures. The only truly domesticated ruminant so far known is the goat.

Dog

In addition, dogs are present, as is to be expected, since they were already domesticated in the Mesolithic, both of Palestine (Bate, 1937) and of Europe (for summary, Zeuner 1957). Remains of dog were found both in the pottery and the pre-pottery Neolithic. The former were discovered on the Tell in Square D, where the yellowish rubble at the bottom of the pit below Wall m contained five teeth which may have belonged to one individual. The reference number is JpD5. 3(c).

Three of these teeth belonged to the left mandible; they were the fourth premolar, and the first and second molars. Of the right mandible, the first molar is preserved, and there are fragments of a canine.

The shape of these teeth leaves no doubt that they belong to a *Canis*. They might come from a small wolf, a jackal, or a dog. In size they agree well with *Canis lupaster* (the Egyptian jackal), but the anterior edge of M_1 is almost vertical in this species. In the fossil, it is at an oblique angle. *Canis aureus* (the golden jackal) is smaller, but its M_1 agrees closely with that of *C. lupaster*. The slanting anterior edge is, however, present in *C. lupus* (the wolf) which is represented in Arabia by the subspecies *C. lupus pallipes*. The specimens of this race which I have seen at the British Museum (Natural History) are all considerably larger than the fossil, which agrees in size with a small dingo. Whilst I have seen wolves with a fairly steep anterior edge of M_1, I have not seen jackals with one as oblique as that of the fossil.

In the dingo, the feral dog of Australia, which is probably closely related to the ancestor of the domesticated dog (Zeuner, 1958), the angle of the anterior edge of M_1 is variable, and the Jericho teeth are within the range of variation of this feral dog. It is safe, therefore, to say that the *Canis* from pottery Neolithic Jericho is a wolf type, and much smaller than the native wild race. The length of the left M_1 is 21·5 mm. In *small* specimens of the northern Arabian wolf this tooth measures 24·2–25·2 mm.; it must therefore be assumed that this Jericho *Canis* was domesticated. The length of the skull, computed from the size of the teeth, would have been about 165 mm. The argument in favour of domestication is admittedly based on slender evidence only, namely on size. On the other hand it is most unlikely that wild wolves would have been allowed to roam about inside the walled city, and one killed outside would be left there as carrion, so that the inferior size of the Jericho specimen must be regarded as conclusive evidence of domestication.

The pre-pottery dog remains all come from Trench I, layer GGi (J.p.B.4.66). This is the plaster-floor phase preceding the earlier of the town walls of the plaster-floor group. The finds comprise two fragments of mandibles, a lower canine, and an upper carnassial, canines and incisors, several in a fragmentary condition. They come from several individuals, all smaller than wolf, and ranging from a large type almost wolf size to that of a fox-terrier.

One mandible, which is somewhat larger than fox-terrier, has a small angular process and a straight lower margin. This may suggest a rather long-faced dog; it is in any event a definite domestication feature.

The teeth do not afford sufficient characteristics to distinguish them from wolf. Their sizes, however, vary, and one lower canine is appreciably smaller than the wild species. A third lower premolar, which fits the second mandibular fragment, is hardly larger than that of a fox-terrier. An upper carnassial, indistinguishable from dog, is 19·6 mm. long and suggests a skull length of about 190 mm. The great variability in size of these teeth suggests again conditions of domestication and the presence of more than one breed.

Cat

An isolated right lower carnassial tooth (first molar) was found in square EII, J.P.E.11, 52b, on 23.3.55. It belongs to the earliest but one stage of the plaster-floor pre-pottery phase. In addition there is the fragment of a humerus of a cat-like animal from layer CC (J.p.D. 103, 13B.5), the specific identity of which has not yet been determined; it is, however, rather large for a domesticated cat and thus suggests a wild animal, whilst the molar here to be described is rather small. The two, therefore, are not likely to belong to the same species.

The molar from Square E II has a basal length of only 7·3 mm. and probably comes from a female skull about 77–78 mm. long. The local wild race (*Felis libyca tristrami*, Pocock) is larger. Six specimens of female lower carnassials in the British Museum (Natural History) range from 8·1–9·6 mm. The posterior end of the Jericho tooth is very steep, and equipped with a just noticeable cingulum-like extension at the base. The majority of lower carnassials of the various races of *F. libyca* have a rather larger extension, which in the living animal is opposed to the posterior cusp of the upper fourth premolar. This character is, however, common in domestic cats also. But some North African females from Tunisia and one from Dueiru, Sudan (B.M. No. 25.6.6.1) of *F. libyca libyca* agree with the fossil from Jericho, and so does a large female from Sinai. Evidently this is a feature that distinguishes the Jericho specimen from wild desert cats such as became the ancestors of the domesticated cat. All that can be said about the Jericho specimen is that it was a small individual.

The question arises as to how this cat got into the pre-pottery city of Jericho. Had cats already invaded human abodes at that time, as they certainly did in Egypt later on? The cat is exceptional among domesticated animals in that it belongs to the small group of pest-destroyers (comprising also the mongoose and the ferret) which invaded human habitations in search of food and were allowed to be present because they destroyed various kinds of vermin, especially small rodents. For a long time, however, nothing was done to domesticate the cat in the strict sense of the word, *i.e.*, to control its breeding (Zeuner 1951, 1956a).

The exceptionally small size of the Jericho tooth may be regarded as an argument in favour of the view that cats had established themselves in the city of pre-pottery Jericho. If so, it would imply some considerable age for the city, allowing enough time for these cats to become smaller than their relations living in the open. This would accord with the fact that the tooth came from a moderately high level in the pre-pottery sequence, namely from a complex eight building phases earlier than that dated by radiocarbon analysis to 6,000 B.C. (Zeuner 1956b), but definitely later than the entire hog-back brick phase of Kenyon (1956).

The picture of domestication as represented by the pre-pottery complex of the Jericho Tell is thus a peculiar one. The dog was undoubtedly domesticated, and so was the goat, and both these species for a sufficiently long time to have deviated from their wild ancestors, but the number of goat remains in the town is so small that they cannot have provided the chief supply of meat. That this consisted of gazelle and other game is becoming evident and we must therefore picture the inhabitants as pastoralists who herded only goat (and possibly gazelle) and otherwise practised much hunting, or else we have to assume that there was a nomadic or semi-nomadic population outside the city, which supplied the latter with meat in exchange for manufactured articles. Similarly, in view of the indecisive evidence for grain storage it is worthwhile to consider the alternative that the pre-pottery Jerichoans did not practise agriculture in the strict sense of the word, which includes reaping, storage, tilling the soil and deliberate sowing. Reaping alone can be practised in fertile steppe countries such as that surrounding Jericho, where wild wheat occurs at the present day, without any difficulty and with a self-sowing effect, for enough grain would be lost from the brittle wild ears to ensure a harvest in the following year. It is only the invention of storage of grain and tillage of the ground that constitutes agriculture.

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ONCE AGAIN: BIRDS IN THE BIBLE

By G. R. DRIVER

Some time ago I published two articles entitled " Birds in the Old Testament ";[1] in the present article I want to make some additional remarks on the same subject.

I

In discussing the Heb. *nešer*=Arab. *nisr*, ' eagle, vulture,' I pointed out that in certain places the vulture and in others the eagle must be meant. I now add two others where the eagle is intended: these are " I bare you on eagles' wings " (Exod. xix, 4) and " as an eagle that stirreth up her nest, that fluttereth over her young, He spread abroad his wings to take them, he bare them on his pinions " (Deut. xxxii, 11). I wrongly ascribed these verses to the vulture because of the great span of its wings, forgetting that instances of the eagle carrying its young on its back or wings had been recorded.[2]

Two other instances[3] may be added to those already known. The first instance comes from Scotland, where Sir W. B. Thomas heard of the habit and described it in the following words[4]:

> " Our guide was one of the small company who have seen the golden eagle teaching the young to fly. He could support the belief that the parent birds, after urging and sometimes shoving the youngster into the air, will swoop underneath and rest the struggler for a moment on their wings and back. . . . Our guide, when questioned, said that every phrase of the verse [Deut. xxxii, 11] (which was new to him) was accurate, save the first; he had seen it all except the stirring up of the nest."

The second instance is recorded by Mr. A. C. Bent on the authority of Dr. L. Miller from the United States; he says[5]:

> " The mother started from the nest in the crags and, roughly handling the youngster, she allowed him to drop, I should say, about ninety feet; then she would swoop down under him, wings spread, and he would alight on her back. She would soar to the top of the range with him and repeat the process. Once perhaps she waited fifteen

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[1] In *P.E.Q.* LXXXVI [1955], 5–20, and LXXXVII [1955], 129–40.

[2] Cp. S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* [1902], 358.

[3] I owe the references in this note to Dr. M. Burton of the British Museum (Natural History).

[4] In *Yeoman's England* [1934], 135–6.

[5] In the *Bulletin of the Smithsonian Institution* CLXVII [1937], 302.

> minutes between flights. I should say the farthest she let him fall was a hundred and fifty feet. My father and I watched him, spellbound, for over an hour."

There are many accounts of birds carrying their chicks or other birds on their backs,[1] but these describing the eagle are apparently unique. In both cases the bird is the golden eagle; it is, so far as I know, never a vulture. In the two passages quoted above, therefore, the *nešer* will be the (golden) eagle. The picture then is not a mere flight of fancy but is based on actual fact.

II

The Revised Version, in describing how quails were sent to feed the Israelites during their wanderings in the wilderness, says: " and there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought[2] quails from the sea and let them fall by the camp, about a day's journey on this side and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and about two cubits above the face of the earth " (Numb. xi, 31). The fact of quails being thus carried by a wind from the west on to land in the wilderness of Sinai agrees with the accounts of modern observers; but the picture of the birds falling to earth round the camp and being presumably piled in heaps to a depth of 2 cubits (=3–3½ ft.) is bizarre and not in accord with natural history. Contrariwise, Jerome (cp. Vulg.'s *demisit in castra . . . volabantque in aëre duobus cubitis altitudine super terram*) as well as the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan and Rashi (to whom Dr. N. Snaith has drawn my attention) imply that after coming to land the birds fluttered round the camp at a height of 2 cubits above ground. This picture can be restored by revocalizing *wayyiṭṭōš*, ' and it (*sc.* the wind) let fall (the birds on to the ground),' as *wayyāṭoś*, ' and it (*sc.* the mass of quails) fluttered[3] (above the surface of the ground) '; the passage may now be translated " and there went forth a wind from the Lord and it brought quails across the sea, and they fluttered over the camp . . .; thus (they were) all round the camp and about two cubits above the surface of the ground."

The verb thus restored occurs once again in the Old Testament (Jb. ix, 26), and it is found in the cognate languages; the parallel forms are the Syr. *ṭâs* ' flew around ' and Arab. *ṭâša*, ' flew wide of the mark; was silly.' The recorded habits of the quail, too, exactly correspond to that depicted; for as Tristram describes it[1], " its flight is very low, just skimming the surface of the ground, and especially when fatigued it keeps close, never towering like the partridge or sand-grouse." There is therefore no reason to suppose with Dean Stanley[2] that the bird here meant is the red-legged crane because it stands three feet high!

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[1] Cp. F. W. Lane, *Animal Wonderland* [1948], 132–43.

[2] Reading *wayyāg̱ez* (Knobel with all Vss.).

[3] There is here a lapse of congruence, whereby the singular gives place to the plural number after the intervening words (cp. *J.R.A.S.* LXXV [1948], 167–9). Some Heb.-Sam. Mss. have the collective sing. *salway*, ' quail(s) '; otherwise the plur. *wayyāṭûšû*, ' and they fluttered,' may be restored.

When the text of the Bible is rightly interpreted, the observation of nature by the ancient Hebrew writers is seen to be remarkably accurate.

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[1] In *Natural History of the Bible* [1868], 231.

[2] In *Sinai and Palestine* [1864], 82–3.

SONG OF SONGS IV, 4: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTE

By B. S. J. ISSERLIN

In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 50 (1949), pp. 51 f., Professor A. M. Honeyman considered the meaning of the word " Talpioth " in the well-known passage in Song of Songs iv, 4. Arriving at the meaning " coursed masonry " for this term, he translates the whole verse:—

" Like David's tower is thy neck, laid in courses
On which the thousand shields are hung, all the warriors' targes."

Honeyman would refer the whole comparison to an equation between a multiple necklace adorning the neck of the young woman, and the courses of drafted masonry with bosses resembling warriors' bucklers that make up the outer face of the tower.

It seems to the present writer that a reading of the verse, as translated by Professor Honeyman, can however be taken to refer to the presence not of *one*, but *two* elements on the tower: there is the coursed masonry, and on top of it there are the shields. If we keep the idea that a multiple necklace is alluded to, then this should be made up of two kinds of elements: on top there should be a series of beads resembling round shields[1]; below we should find something resembling either the short or the long side of building stones (according to whether the masonry is laid in headers or stretchers). Can necklaces of this type be found in the ancient Near East?

It seems to the writer that the well-known sculpture from Arsos in Cyprus (Pl. VI) represents just this type of necklace. The upper beads do look like a row of round shields, as shown on the tower in the relief slab representing Sennacherib's siege of Lachish, while the lower elements do evoke roughly bossed headers, as found in ancient Palestinian defence works.

The chronological implications of all this would not be without some interest. Shields hung on towers we know from the period of the monarchy; headers in fortification work are likewise known then,[2] though the round towers of the Hellenistic period in Samaria are perhaps more famous examples. Furthermore, the statue with the multiple necklace referred to is dated to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. by Dikaios[3]; the necklace belongs to an Iron Age family: Hellenistic necklaces are quite different.

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[1] This seems to be the only kind of shield in question during the time (from Solomon to the Hellenistic period) when the Song of Songs could possibly have been written.

[2] Compare, *e.g.*, the masonry from Israelite Samaria figured in Crowfoot-Kenyon-Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria*, pl. XXIV, 2.

[3] *Guide to the Cyprus Museum* (second edition), pl. XIX, 1. Gjerstad (*Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. IV, part 2, pp. 36, 355) seems to favour a somewhat higher dating.

Even if we must remember the possibility of survivals of older styles[1], this fact should perhaps warn us not to depress the date unduly when this passage was written. A date during the seventh/sixth or at latest fifth century B.C. might deserve consideration.

Note—While we cannot assume as a matter of course that all the passages in the Song of Songs as we now have it must date from the same period, the sixth century B.C. might be possible as a compromise period that could accommodate other chronological indications contained in the Song—even if these indications taken by themselves would tend to hint at a higher or lower dating.

Jerusalem was then inhabited and Tirzah (if at Tell el-Far'ah near Nablus) had only just been deserted.[2] (These two instances would be better served by a higher dating.) A *pardes/paradeisos* (Song of Songs iv, 13) could have been known in Palestine after the coming of the Persian empire (though here a lower date would appear more satisfactory). As for an *'appiryon/phoreion* (Song of Songs iii, 9), it seems difficult to date the appearance of the *term* in Greek, but the *thing* itself seems to be referred to in the sixth century[3] and we must not forget that Greek contacts with Palestine antedated Alexander's conquest considerably—witness, *inter alia*, the Ionian condottiere who had made himself master of Ashdod in the days of Sargon II.

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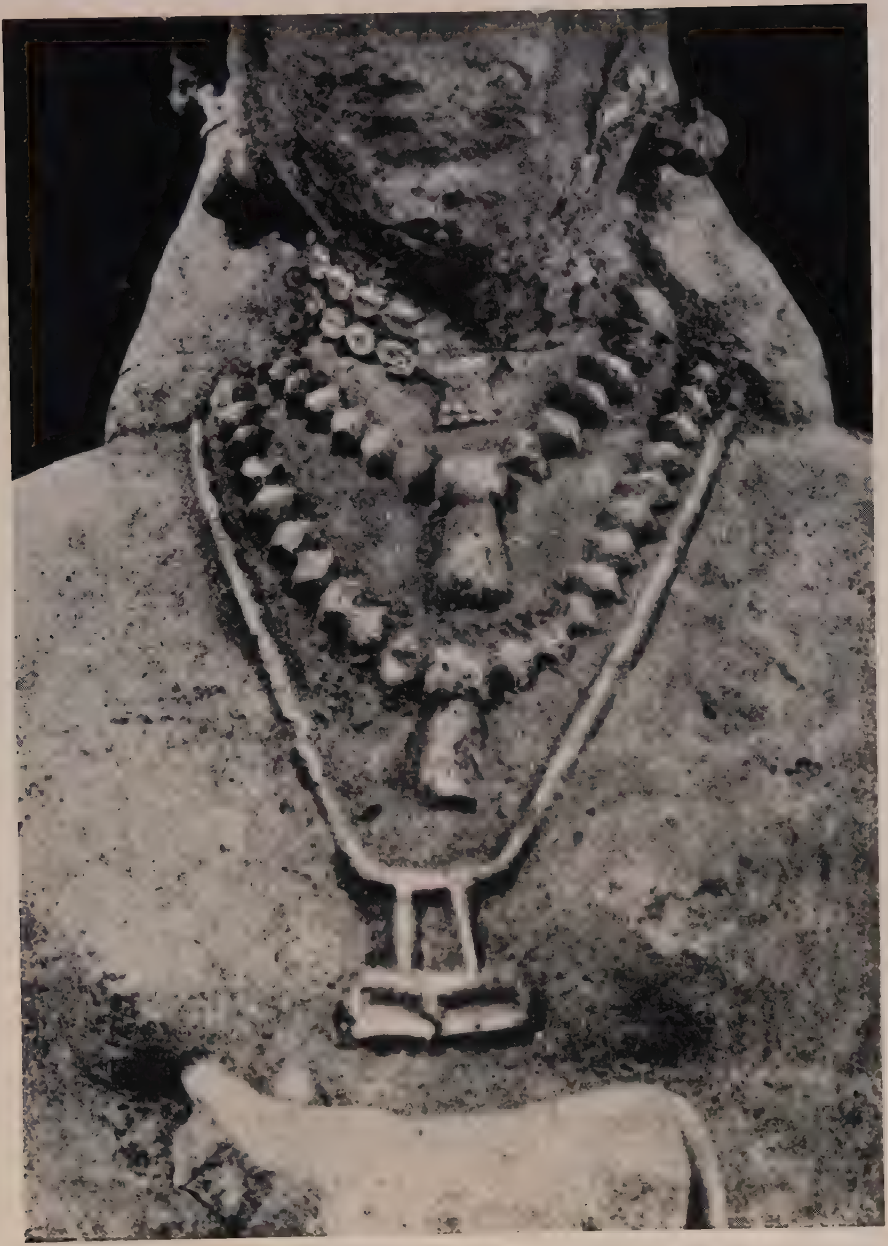
[1] Compare the case of the "Lady of Elche" in Spain, wearing a multiple necklace of Phoenician derivation, which however may belong to a rather later period, perhaps even within the Hellenistic era.

[2] Cp. R. de Vaux, *P.E.Q.*, 1956, p. 135.

[3] Compare the allusions in Anacreon, Athenaeus, XII. 533 f. (I have to thank Professor J. A. Davison for drawing my attention to this passage.)



Necklace on sculpture from Arsos in Cyprus.

SPURIOUS TEXTS FROM QUMRAN ?[1]

I. The Question

By J. L. Teicher.

An examination of the photographic reproductions of fragments of scrolls found at Qumran which have recently been made available to the public[2] has given the following results:

1. "Document II", published by Allegro in JBL, September, 1956 (photograph facing p. 174), is not a single continuous text written by one and the same scribe, but a mosaic of several different fragments which do not belong to each other. This is proved beyond any possible doubt by the fact that the four lines of the fragment on the left in the photograph are not horizontal but slope downwards at an angle. It is further confirmed by the circumstance that the letters at the beginning of each line in this fragment do not fit the last letters in each line of the preceding fragment. Thus, the word in line 1, transcribed by Allegro as אחריכה, is in fact split between two levels: אחרי above and כה considerably lower; and similarly the components of the words העומד in line 2 and דויד in line 3 are on two different levels. It is difficult to understand how such an obvious misfit could have been offered to scholars as genuine.[3]

The script of the left hand fragment, moreover, is different from that of the preceding fragment, which is in turn different from that of the fragment on its right. The components of the words at the junction between these middle fragments: והקימותי in line 1, לבן in line 2, כתוב in line 3 and את ישראל in line 4, are again on two different levels. The fragment on the extreme right bears no obvious relation to the others. It should further be observed that the contents of the text as published by Allegro make no sense.

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[1] A question which may have occurred to some of us who are inexperienced in the piecing together of manuscript fragments is ventilated by Dr. Teicher: can we always be sure that the fragments are joined together rightly? In the *P.E.Q.* for 1957 (p. 113) Dr. Birnbaum suggests that at one place in the Kephar Bebhayu conveyance the papyrus fragments may not have been placed in quite the correct position. The question as Dr. Teicher raises it involves much more radical issues; the categorical terms in which he poses it call for an equally categorical reply, and this is supplied by Mr. Allegro, whose experience in handling Qumran fragments makes his brief reply both authoritative and reassuring.—Ed.

[2] See D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Qumran Cave I*, Oxford, 1955; J. M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", *JBL*, 1956 (vol. LXXV, part II) pp. 89–95; and "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", *ibid.* (vol. LXXV, part III), pp. 174–187.

[3] It is significant that the letters מה in the first line of the last fragment, which do not fit the context that Allegro intended to establish, are omitted in his transcription.

The text of " Document II " is spurious. It was used nevertheless by Allegro in his publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls to illustrate the messianic conceptions in the scrolls.[1]

2. " Document III ", published and transcribed by Allegro in the same issue of JBL, is subdivided by him into four Fragments A, B, C, D. The implication of Allegro's nomenclature and transcription is that these fragments belong to the same work and were written by the same scribe. This is contradicted by the fact that each fragment was clearly written by a different hand. Further, Fragment D is itself a mosaic of at least two different fragments written by different hands. These two fragments do not fit each other, as can be seen from the words at the junction: תשפוט (line 5 of Allegro's transcription), למשמע (line 6), and אשר (line 7). It is enough to observe that the strokes after למ (line 6) do not fit the ש of שמע in order to convince oneself that the two fragments have nothing to do with each other.

Again, Fragment A is a mosaic of fragments, of which the small fragment on the extreme right, inscribed with the letters פת and ר? (beginning of lines 8–9 in Allegro's transcription) does not fit graphically into the rest of the text although the writing is the same. Another fragment on the extreme right in Fragment A, containing the ends of lines 4–6, is however written in a script clearly different from the rest of the text. The photograph of Fragment A is inadequate for a more detailed palaeographic study of the text but what can be seen in it and in those of the other Fragments is enough to make us conclude that " Document III " is also a spurious text.[2]

3. " 4Qp Nahum ", published by Allegro in JBL, June 1956, Plate 1, was used by him in the BBC broadcasts and the Pelican Book on the Dead Sea Scrolls.[3] The fragment has recently been discussed by Professor H. H. Rowley.[4] The question must be asked whether it is genuine or again a spurious composite of fragments that do not belong to each other. Judging from the appearance of the text in the photographs, there are indications that the text may not be genuine. The beginnings of the first three lines are at an angle in relation to the rest of the text, and the letters ון (line 3) do not seem to be the correct graphic continuation of the preceding letter י to give us the word יון, as transcribed by Allegro. Again the two components of the final *mem* in the word ירושלים (line 2) do not fit each other. It is impossible to ascertain from the photograph whether this text has been preserved on a single piece of leather or has been put together by Allegro from separate and disjointed fragments. If it is a single piece of leather, the text would be genuine and its puzzling graphic features would have

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[1] See his *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, a Pelican Book, London, 1956, p. 153; and *JBL*, 1956, p. 177.

[2] The appearance of " Document I " is also very puzzling, but the photograph is inadequate for a proper study.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[4] " 4Qp Nahum and the Teacher of Righteousness " in *JBL*, 1956, p. 188; and " The Kittim and the Dead Sea Scrolls " in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1956, p. 92.

to be explained as being due to the physical condition of the leather. But if the text consists of fragments pieced together by Allegro, it must be rejected as spurious. An authoritative declaration by scholars who have access to the original is required to settle this point.

4. " 4Qp Hosea ", published by Allegro in JBL, June 1956, Plate 2, is a composite of two fragments which do not fit, as can be seen from the word אחרון (line 2).

5. " 4Qp Ps 37 ". Photographs of these fragments were published by Allegro in JBL, June 1956, Plates 3 and 4. On Plate 3 (left-hand photograph) the fragments making up the text do not, as can be seen from the difference of script, bear any relation to one another. The components of the word ירשיעו (line 1) are clearly a misfit. One Plate 4, the fragment forming the beginning of the text does not seem to fit the context graphically, and the fragment containing the top of ל in למשפט (line 5), the top of the word הבאה (line 4) and the bottom of אשר (line 3), is certainly a misfit.

6. The palaeographic incompetence exhibited in the edition of the fragments of scrolls from the fourth Qumran cave is shared, although fortunately to a much smaller degree, in the edition of the fragments from the first Qumran cave. On Plate XXVIII, no. 24 of the Oxford edition, the fragment inscribed with the letters קרו and ולוא ביר (lines 23–24 of the transcription on p. 126) does not fit. Again, on Plate XXIX, no. 25, the letters ד יח (line 21 of the transcription on p. 127) are bigger than those of the surrounding text, and יח cannot be joined to the letter ש of the next fragment to form the word יחדש since we get the two components of the word distributed on two different levels. Again on Plate XXIV, the last fragment to the left does not fit the text above it, as can be seen from the words לפניהם לפי (sixth line from the bottom). It is further clear that this fragment is not connected with the fragment on the far right of the photograph in that the phrase וערוך השולתן היתד, as transcribed by the editors (Oxford ed. p. 111, lines 17–18), makes no sense. Also on Plate XXIV, a fragment has been inserted by the editors into the text, which is a misfit, as can be seen from the word ישראל (Col. II, Oxford ed. p. 110, line 14). The text of Plate XXIV has recently been widely discussed and far-reaching conclusions have been drawn from it concerning the messianic conceptions in the scrolls. It is sad to reflect that the basis of the discussion is a spurious text.

There are also some other cases in the Oxford edition of the Qumran fragments which arouse a strong suspicion that they are misfits, but, owing to the inadequate reproductions of the fragments, it is not possible to form a definite judgment. A most disturbing feature of the Oxford edition is that fragments of scrolls written in distinctly different hands are put together by the editors and printed as a continuous text. The most striking instance of this unaccountable procedure is to be found in the transcription of the text of Plate XXVI on pages 122–123. The obvious misfits indicated above, discernible in the photographs, cannot be explained as being due to shrinkage

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of the leather. They must appear even more clearly in the originals.

If these criticisms are well founded, what can be done to stop the flood of spurious texts from the Palestine Archaeological Museum? It is difficult to say, but it would at least be helpful if the editors of the Qumran fragments regarded it as their imperative duty to reproduce the single fragments in their original state in faithful photographs before joining them together. Scientific control of their work might thus to some extent be made possible.

II. A Reply

By John M. Allegro

Most reasonable scholars are by now aware of the difficulties confronting the editors of the Scroll fragments from Qumran. They are aware that most of these precious documents have been lying in the cave dust for some two thousand years unprotected by wrappings and jars as was the case with the Cave One scrolls. They may also know that the disintegration most of them have suffered occurred in antiquity so that their component pieces have often suffered differing changes of colour, brittleness, warping and so on. This means that very often when these pieces are put together again, they will not fit to the thousandth of an inch even though their position is certain from the point of view of script, context, skin, general shape, etc. Reasonable scholars are not, therefore, deterred from making such joins, otherwise deemed certain, from the mere fact that the two halves of a broken letter do not coincide, or because the line of script following " slopes downwards at an angle ".

It is difficult to answer categorical statements like " each document was clearly written by a different hand ", and " the two fragments do not fit each other " without being just as categorical, and unhelpful. One would have to know, in each case, the precise grounds for such assertions, made by one, incidentally, who has never seen, much less worked with the originals. Indeed, Dr. Teicher's certainty that the fragments have been misplaced seems curious in view of his acknowledgment that the photographs are not clear enough to allow him to make detailed palaeographical study of their scripts.

I can safely leave Dr. Teicher's criticisms of the Cave One volume to those of my colleagues who did the work, if they think fit to answer them. But in 4QpNahum I can, perhaps, put Dr. Teicher's mind at rest by assuring him that the first three lines, however regrettably off the horizontal, are in fact still in one piece with the larger fragment. There is certainly a crack running down the centre of the column, but validity of the obvious join at this point can hardly be doubted simply because the final *mem* of ירושלים in l. 2 has thereby become disfigured.

Dr. Teicher's final suggestion that we publish some forty thousand scroll fragments " in their original state . . . before joining them together " is too unrealistic to merit a serious reply.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories. By R. D. Barnett. London (British Museum), 1957. 252 pp., 132 plates.

Many ivories from Nimrud have been frequently illustrated and discussed since their discovery rather more than a century ago, but since Mr. Barnett's important paper in 1935 (*Iraq* II, 179 ff.) it has been known that there were far more Nimrud ivories than had yet been made public. In that paper he pointed out that they belonged in the main to two finds (not one) and he argued that there were at least two clearly distinguishable styles represented. Now at last, for the first time, the *full* contents of these important finds are made available to scholars and the interested public generally. Mr. Barnett has thus faithfully discharged a task laid upon him a quarter of a century ago, and discharged it in admirable fashion. Not only has he carried through with great patience and devotion the formidable task of cleaning and sorting the fragments and of searching out the hundreds of joins which had to be made before they were fit for publication, but he has prefixed to the catalogue a long introduction rich in contributions to the understanding not only of these ivories but of Phoenician and Syrian work generally.

To give his readers even better measure he has also included various smaller groups of ivories from Near Eastern sites in the British Museum, notably those from Kuyunjik and Toprak Kale. One can only regret that the changed circumstances of excavation have caused the ivories from Professor Mallowan's fruitful excavations at Nimrud, which ideally should have been discussed in the same context, to be dispersed between several museums in more than one continent, so that only the very few pieces which have gone to London could be included here.

Enough has been said to show that the publication of this book is a major event for Near Eastern studies and for another matter always in the author's mind, the transmission of oriental motives to the west, to Greece and to Italy, in the archaic period.

The book opens appropriately with an account of the site of Nimrud and of its explorers. The author is at pains to give due credit to the work of Loftus which for so long has been largely overlooked in favour of that of his predecessor Layard, whose numerous popular accounts of his own excavations have made him better known. It is a pity that the plans given here do not include one which shows the location of the various rooms in the palaces, especially as they are often referred to in the text by letters which, without a plan, are meaningless.

After reading these two preliminary chapters the reader (or at any rate the serious student) should next thoroughly study the catalogue (pp. 169–230) and the plates. These together are in a sense the core of the book and they come logically here, although placed for convenience of reference at the end of the book. The plates are excellently printed in collotype and give a very good idea of the appearance of the originals. Every important piece is illustrated, sometimes in more than one view, and often helped by an accompanying drawing. Pieces which are not illustrated but mentioned in the catalogue all seem to be either scraps or duplicates, so that little is here left to be desired.

When he is familiar with the contents of the collection, the reader can appreciate the remaining chapters of the introduction (pp. 31 ff.). The first two include the main discussion of the Loftus group of ivories, their date, style and centre of origin. The next four chapters are concerned with the Layard group, their function, date, interpretation of their subjects and other matters. Finally there are three brief general chapters on technique, inscriptions and the sources of the raw material.

Mr. Barnett is already well known as a champion of the view that the sort of Egyptianizing art seen on many of these ivories is not just a garbling and debasing of its models, and here he has much more that is interesting to say on the probable meaning of these subjects to those who carved them (especially pp. 137–153)[1].

This important material gives rise to many problems of detail, but in the interests of space we shall restrict ourselves to a few considerations of a more general kind, concerned with style and chronology.

The majority of the ivories found by Layard were found together (C. 1–64) and probably all belonged to one scheme of decoration, for an elaborate bed or the like. Their style is consistent; both style and iconography are heavily indebted to Egyptian art and are such as we have come to expect of Phoenician work. Far more problematical is the Loftus group, which is bigger (408 pieces are catalogued, and many more from the same lot have been found by Professor Mallowan) and more varied. Here we are concerned not, in the main, with furniture, but with small toilet objects.

Before trying to decide where and when the Loftus ivories were made, one must seek to answer two other questions which Mr. Barnett does not discuss in detail in his text, although he has given his answers (cf. pp. 49 and 63): (1) to what extent do the Loftus ivories constitute a stylistic unity?

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[1] It is not clear how the situation in which the ivories have been found in the Assyrian palaces can have any real bearing on the understanding of Phoenician cults for which they were made (as seems involved on pp. 130 f.).

and (2) what is the relation between their style(s) and that of the Layard group? Barnett's answer to (1) is that they do and to (2) that they are in a different, in fact a Syrian, style, whose home might possibly be Hama (p. 47).

(1) The ivories of the Loftus group include pieces in what at first sight are very disparate styles, and one would have been grateful for a detailed analysis of their styles demonstrating their unity or separating out a nucleus whose style was demonstrably the same[1]. This would seem an essential preliminary to any arguments about origins.

If we take the pyxides, one of the principal categories within the Loftus group, there is considerable diversity of style: contrast pls. XVI–XVII with XIX. There are possible links between the extremes (an important one being S.12, pl. XXVII) but whether sufficient to hold the whole series together may be doubted. Even if we can satisfy ourselves that these are all products of one tradition, we are bound to ask whether they are not products of considerably different date.

The case is the same with the human figures in the round (from handles, etc.) where the extremes are represented by such pieces as S.172–4 (pl. LXX) on the one hand, and S.293 (pl. LXXXVIII) and such Egyptianizing pieces as S.312–314 (pl. XCVI)—which cannot be separated from S.293—on the other. Between these extremes it is hard to find compelling links in the collection, although S.294 (pl. LXXXIX) shows the second style linked with something which, like S.308 (pl. XCI) *may* descend ultimately from the farouche ladies of pls. LXX ff. Again, *if* all come from one tradition they surely cover a considerable period. Further, one would have to admit that Egyptianizing and Syrianizing products issued from the same workshop(s) and why should one speak of " exercises by Syrian artists in the Phoenician manner " (p. 63) rather than the other way round?

(2) We now must pass to the second question. If we compare the Egyptianizing pieces of the Loftus group with Layard's ivories, we cannot help wondering whether the gulf between their styles has not been exaggerated: it is certainly less than between the extremes within the Loftus group. Compare the treatment of eyes, nose, mouth, ears and drapery in pieces like S.312, 293–4 on the one hand and C.1–15 on the other. Or compare the face of the figure on the horse-frontlet S.146 with the Lady at the Window of the other series, the wings with A.4, the lotus below with C.1–8. Even the inlay of S.314 is very like that of some of the Layard series. Nor is the Layard series free of Syrian elements: the little columns beneath

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[1] One group in obviously different style and so possibly, at least, of different origin, is made up of (cosmetic?) tubes described as of bone, and partly in a distinctive and curious Egyptianizing style (S.63, 67, 68, perhaps 69, 70, 71). Another group includes many of the tall pyxides (pls. XXXII ff.).

the windows of pl. IV are matched in every part by members from the handles of staves in the Loftus group, pls. LXXVIII–LXXXIII, and their form of palm capital is most familiar from remains in Syria (pp. 108, fig. 44a [misprinted 38 on p. 108] and 145).

Other pieces in the Loftus group which are not certainly from the same workshops as the pyxides and their relations, have close affinities in the Layard group: thus S.323 and 309 and D.2–9, and S.51 and 137 and G.3 (Barnett, p. 184).

Such technical and stylistic resemblances as we have just noted between the Loftus and Layard series should involve us in the conclusion that both groups issued from a very similar milieu. Identical stylizations and treatment of eyes and many other features occur in each group. If one takes the Loftus group for a unity, then it is hard to see why the Layard group should not be thrown in too, some pieces being done in a more purely Egyptian manner, others in a more purely Syrian. But the reviewer would prefer to infer from the differences within the Loftus group that its members came from more than one shop, no closer together, nor further apart than the Loftus shops and the Layard shop. There is a strong technical unity running through the wide diversity in styles.

Where these shops were situated cannot be said until more is known of Phoenician work from the main Phoenician centres. The powerful Syrian element in many of the ivories (cf. their evident connections with the sculptures of Tell Halaf, etc., to which Barnett rightly draws attention), certainly brings into consideration cities such as Hama (favoured by Barnett) and Damascus (recently advocated by Albright) as well as Sidon and Tyre.

The evidence for dating the ivories is not so closely binding as one could wish and has been fully discussed by Barnett. The *terminus ante quem* for the Layard series seems to be late eighth century (time of Sargon), that of the Loftus series used to be believed to be a fire in the Burnt Palace also in the reign of Sargon, but Mallowan (*Iraq* XVIII, 17) has now shown that the fire did not take place until the last days of the Assyrian empire in the later seventh century.

For Layard's ivories a date in the later eighth century would agree well with the fact that closely similar ivories have been found in contexts that are, or probably are, of the early seventh century in the west[1], and with Barnett's tentative interpretation of the cartouche on C.48 (p. 135). In allowing himself to be drawn to an earlier date (early eighth or even late ninth century, p. 134) by the undoubted resemblances between these ivories and some from Samaria and Arslan Tash, Barnett seems not to give adequate prominence to the possibility that the relevant ivories from these sites may be later[1]. Samaria was not destroyed until 722 and not all its contents will have belonged to Ahab's time. At Arslan Tash the lower terminus is the time of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727), and it is not certain which ivories are to be connected with the bed made for Hazael.

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[1] At Samos, where the context according to the excavators contained nothing else earlier than the seventh century; and the Bernardini tomb at Praeneste a burial probably of the second quarter of the seventh century. In this tomb, besides the griffin and volutes mentioned by Barnett (p. 129), there were a number of pieces with inlay in a style very similar to that of the Layard ivories but somewhat inferior (*MAAR* III pls. 34.1, 35.1–9, 36, 37.1–7).

For the Loftus group, which for Barnett is a unity, he inclines to a late ninth or even eighth century date (p. 51). One may perhaps observe that the related pieces from elsewhere to which an early date has to be given[2] are of the more farouche Syrian type, while the pieces from Zincirli and Rhodes (where imports so early as the ninth century would be unlikely) are of a milder kind, closer to the Egyptianizing pieces of the Loftus series. Could this be evidence for a development over a century from a more uncompromising, fierce style in the ninth century to a softer, milder one in which Egyptian influence was stronger in the later eighth century?

Much less difficult problems are raised by ivory plaques whose style is purely Assyrian. Excellent examples both from Nimrud and from Kuyunjik are published here, and the evidence has been increased in important respects by Professor Mallowan's finds. Barnett describes his Assyrian pieces fully in his catalogue but they find no place in his introductory chapters. Other Assyrian, or Assyrianizing, plaques are among those from Toprak Kale. It is hard to separate W.10 or V.12 (which is believed to be from Toprak Kale, p. 228) from the Assyrian plaques on pls. X–XII. W.5 could be matched on plenty of Assyrian monuments in style, clothes and hair-do, and one wonders what is specifically Urartian. The same applies to the " Urartian drapery ", W.8. W.4 on the other hand is closely related to some of the " Syrian " style figures from Nimrud and elsewhere, and surely gives no evidence for the colour of Urartian eyes. In short, it is not clear why these diverse ivories from Toprak Kale should be described as " examples of the art of ancient Urartu " (p. 228).

There is plenty of fascinating material and plenty of ideas in this most important book to stimulate much discussion. It will clearly be a long time before all the problems connected with these ivories are completely solved.

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[1] A possibility stressed by such eminent scholars as Frankfort, *Art and Archit.*, 190. For Samaria, Watzinger *Denkmäler Paläst.* I, 113–4, has suggested that stylistically and chronologically these ivories form two groups. Can letter forms be dated so compellingly as Barnett implies on p. 124? Cf. his remarks on p. 135.

[2] Grave from before the Assyrian conquest at Tell Halaf, so probably late ninth century: Barnett, p. 49; *Tell Halaf*, III, figs. 10, 12.

All must be grateful that they are launched into the world of scholarship with such a splendid presentation and with so interesting a commentary[1].

W. L. Brown

Myrtou-Pigadhes. A late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus. By J. du Plat Taylor, and others. Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 1957. 50*s.*

Pigadhes lies near the village of Myrtou, some four miles inland on the route down the Myrtou pass from the plain to the sea, more or less in the centre of the north coast region of Cyprus. It is in an area of Middle and Late Cypriot cemeteries and settlements, of which the most important is Ayia Irini, seven miles to the west. The site of Pigadhes appears to be one of the most extensive settlements of this area in the Late Bronze Age, but it seems to lack the cemetery accompanying most other sites. The cemetery of Kafkalla above the settlement may belong, but it affords only Late Iron Age and Hellenistic tombs and some Chalcolithic sherds.

The excavation, of what is clearly only part of the site, was a joint effort by the Ashmolean Museum and certain Australian and New Zealand institutions, carried out in 1950–51, and here published with commendable speed.

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[1] The following misprints and slips may be noted, in addition to those mentioned on the erratum slip.

P. 34, l. 2, read " of " for " by "; p. 35, l. 14, for " plate CXXXII " read " pl. CXXII ". (The ivory V.16 published there and on p. 228 as of unknown provenience, is here said to be from Egypt.) P. 36, l. 20, the second man, like the second goat in fig. 5, is surely due to the extended rolling and is not on the seal; p. 38 n. 3, the Palestrina bowl is of silver not bronze (*MAAR* III, pl. 20, p. 38); p. 45, last line, read " 78–80 " for "68–70"; p. 47, last l., for " S.292u." read " S.292t "; p. 51, l. 11, for " pp." read " pls."; p. 52, top, a very high date for the Melian-Theran alphabet; p. 59, l. 11, has the double plural " cherubims "; p. 68, n. 5, for " above " read " below "; p. 78, n. 6, for " 11 " read " Il."; p. 92, last line, read " S.46 " for " S.47 "; p. 106, l. 22, for " nekclace " read " necklace "; l. 29, for " century " read " millennium "; p. 107, l. 16, for " S.399 " read " S.339 "; p. 108, l. 31, for " fig. 38 " read " fig. 44 "; p. 111, l. 13, for " C.49 " read " C.48 "; l. 15, for " C.48 " read " C.47 "; p. 118, l. 10, the lions are not rampant, but galloping; p. 137, n. 1, for " p. 127 " read " p. 128 "; p. 141, second sub-heading, for " S.4 " read " (C.) 54 "; p. 142, l. 19, for " fig. 48 " read " fig. 50 "; p. 145, n. 5, for "Above, fig. 47 " read " p. 149, fig. 55 "; p. 156, n. 4 for " ibid." read " Iliad "; p. 165, l. 25 delete " unpublished and " (cf. n. 11). The description does not tally with fig. 61; p. 166, l. 12, delete " to " before " which "; p. 168, end, for " No. 4 " read " n. 4 "; p. 173, right, l. 37 for " Fig. 84 " read " Fig. 87 "; p. 174, the measurements given for C.31–32 must surely be wrong, cf. C.33–34; p. 176, C.46, for " Fig. 6" read " Fig. 67 "; p. 177, n. 3, for " p. 155 " read " p. 135 "; p. 183, right, n. 1, delete " an "; p. 184, G.1, pl. I, is not " mortise " a slip for " tenon "? G.3, Fig. 80 seems to show that there was a second row of animals not mentioned in the description; p. 225, U.2 bears a *beth* according to p. 161 and pl. CXXII, not an *aleph* as stated here.

Despite the fact that the excavation area is relatively small and the settlement a " provincial " one, the character and affinities of the Sanctuary make Pigadhes of considerable interest and importance for Cypriot connections in the Late Bronze Age.

The excavators distinguish a number of periods. *Period I:* black earth and considerable pottery fragments, indicating an extensive occupation in M.C.III (starting in the late seventeenth century B.C.; see the Chron. Table p. 116). This period affords no structural remains. *Period II:* two phases of floors and a short length of wall of advanced L.C.I. period (fifteenth century B.C.). *Period III:* into the remains of the foregoing was terraced the first recognisable series of rooms, characterised by a considerable change of pottery types, indicating L.C.II date, *c.* 1400 B.C., despite a considerable proportion of M.C. pottery introduced from below by the terracing. *Period IV:* occupation on floors of Period III, in the fourteenth century B.C. *Period V:* the buildings of Period III were destroyed and levelled for the construction of a (? new) sanctuary, which provides the main interest of the site, of L.C.II *c* (Myc. III B) date, *c.* 1300 B.C. (see p. 18). The sanctuary consisted of an open court with what may have been an altar (see below) and two series of rooms (some at least store chambers, and the equivalent of the Cult House elsewhere), one west and south, the other east of the court. Past the east rooms a road flanked by benches led from the court in a south-east direction. *Period VI:* the period of occupation of these structures; *cf.* p. 23: " it continued in use throughout the reign of Ramesses II (an amulet of his period, p. 114) and probably until the end of XIX Dyn., for Myc. III C 1 does not appear to come into common use before that date. At most the occupation could not exceed 150 years." In fact the excavators put its destruction in *Period VII* or *c.* 1175 B.C. Though there are no traces of burning the scattering of the débris suggests a violent and deliberate destruction and not an earthquake. *Period VIII:* a limited resumption of the occupation of the site (a good deal of the material has been lost since it lies just below the modern surface) in Cypriot Geometric II–III (10th—8th centuries B.C.).

A nice problem is presented to the excavators by the collection of blocks which seem to belong to the structure in the Court in Periods V and VI, discussed pp. 12–17, and by D. H. F. Gray in Chapter XI (" The Sanctuary "). Certain aspects of its construction are uncertain (see the tentative restoration in fig. 11), and difficult to explain, especially its exceptional height (if it was an altar, and not used just for the display of cult objects) and the consequent problem of access. There is also the significance and placing of the architectural fragment xlviii (plate II b), with truncated " horn " and coffered side. This may have been one of a pair of stylized " horns of consecration," since the " personification " of the deity associated with the sanctuary appears to have been a bull; *cf.* the bronze bull found in the black earth above the sterile fill of the " altar," and the terracottas from the site. Interesting problems are presented by the coffering of the side panel, discussed p. 108. From this discussion of the horns and the structure they surmount, it emerges that the important features are " eastern rather than western in their general character," and, as Miss du Plat Taylor points out in her summary (p. 111), " in addition to the architecture, the sanctuary objects furnish connexions with the Anatolian and Syrian cults ". *Cf.* also some of the pottery of this period from the site. Of considerable interest are the finds of horns and bones from Period VI (studied by Professor Zeuner and Dr. Cornwall in Chapter X), and the suggestion that some at least of the animals they represent may have been imported from eastern sources—a curious aspect of a cult centre which, in the L.C. period, retained the open court (instead of the Cult House) for ceremonial, and is paralleled elsewhere in earlier and later periods (*i.e.*, E.C. to M.C.III, and Early Iron Age). If this is a " provincial " characteristic, it is in keeping with the character of the site in general (due to its N.W. position in the island; see p. 47) " as demonstrated by its poverty in certain material objects . . . perfectly comprehensible in view of its geographical position far from the important sea routes of the day, and, as in modern times, not on a vital overland route or close to the copper deposits ".

There is much else of interest, not least the tripods of Period VI from Room 15 of the East Block, more closely dated (1250–1200 B.C.) at Pigadhes than elsewhere.

The publication is a model one, and deserves the highest praise, especially for the organization and cross-referencing of its catalogues.

R. J. HOPPER.

Digging up Jericho. By Kathleen Kenyon. Ernest Benn, 1957. 267 pp. Ill. plans. 30*s.*

As archaeological publications are nowadays usually expensive, dull and incomprehensible to non-specialists, archaeologists fall under an obligation (which they by no means always carry out) to speak to the public through writing popular descriptions summarising their more learned works. Miss Kenyon in this sketch as usual does a good job manfully, describing modestly in a mere 267 pages the results of her four seasons 1952–56, by which the study of Near Eastern prehistory was revolutionized. Starting from the clues found by Garstang—he had discovered a sufficiently remarkable thing, a series of Stone Age round temples, containing remains of large human statues of clay—Miss Kenyon with infinite care and skill has carried back the evidence of settled populations at this astonishing site to a period before pottery was known. Yet then they were already living in houses in a communal form of life in a town, extending over at least eight acres, surrounded by a massive defensive wall. The now famous Carbon 14 method shows that this far from carefree state of early man, so remote from the Golden Age imagined by the poets, is to be dated to the early 7th millenium B.C.—though it is hard to believe. It is not surprising, but slightly depressing, to find this stage awarded by Miss Kenyon the label all too full of undertones of our civilization: " proto-urban ".

But Jericho in its gifts is not confined to the Stone Age. In the Bronze Age levels, which Garstang also sought, its contribution to Biblical history could be of great importance, for this would be the city destroyed by Joshua, had it not all been, as it seems, dug away by later occupants of the site. Miss Kenyon, however, by her finding of remains of Middle Bronze Age tombs, has restored to us the tangible remains of nomadic immigrants, most probably the Amorites moving in about 1800 B.C. to control this key to Palestine—tribes armed with daggers and square shields, whom two or three centuries later the Egyptians depict among their Palestinian enemies under the name of Shasu or Retenu. In other Middle Bronze Age tombs, untouched food and wooden furniture was found, conserved in freak conditions in a state of completeness which elsewhere in the Near East is only met in the dry atmosphere of Upper Egyptian burials. These astonishing finds enabled Miss Kenyon to reconstitute a complete picture of Canaanite domestic life about 1500 B.C., which is charmingly depicted by her artist inside the cover. The latest news of her last season is of more such tombs.

This is altogether a very useful book. It is strictly factual, providing a fascinating account for middlebrow people. Those who want their instruction in Jerichoan archaeology mixed with lighter entertainment will prefer to turn to Lady Wheeler's book on the same subject.

R. D. BARNETT.

Archaeological Activities in Israel, 1948–1955. By S. Yeivin. Jerusalem, Government Press. 1955 Pp. 31, 16 plates. I£1.250.

In this little pamphlet the head of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel deals both with the history of that organization from its foundation in 1948 up to 1955 and with archaeological activities in Israel during that period in general. The Department developed from absolutely nothing —there was no library, no collection of photographs, maps or plans, or central museum—to a reasonably equipped service with a permanent staff of 54 besides 16 part-time workers. A system of amateur trustees of about 100 persons spread over 85 localities helps to ensure co-operation between the service and the wider public in the country. This is very necessary, for the widespread constructional activity all over Israel has led to a flood of casual discoveries (involving in the majority of cases finds from the early periods and the Byzantine era) keeping up with which is straining the resources of the Department. The planned archaeological survey of Israel has had to be discontinued but several local surveys undertaken by Israeli archaeologists, besides Professor Glueck's survey work in the Negeb, have to some extent remedied this lack. There has been a fair number of archaeological excavations varying in size and importance. Among those undertaken by outside agencies Jean Perrot's work on the chalcolithic settlements near Beersheba seems outstanding: work undertaken by Israeli archaeologists ranges from the early periods as at Shaar Hagolan, Sheikh Ali, and Kh. Kerak, to the period of the Mishnah (as in the catacombs at Beth Shearim) and thereafter. A start has been made with the publication of results accumulating in the Department: besides the *Bulletin* addressed to the Hebrew-speaking public, there is now *Atiqot* meant for the English-speaking scientific world. The conservation of monuments, and making them accessible to the public, have also not been forgotten, and a start has been made with the publication of local guide-books in English and French besides Hebrew. Altogether the amount achieved by a small state with large overhead commitments in other directions seems respectable, and one can only wish the Department further success in dealing with its large and urgent task.

The pamphlet includes a list of Israeli archaeological museums and collections open to the public, and a short bibliography.

B. S. J. ISSERLIN.

Rand McNally Bible Atlas. By Emil G. Kraeling. Rand McNally & Co., New York, Chicago, San Francisco. 1956. 10 × 7 ins. 487 pp. 22 colour maps, 50 other maps, plans and tables, many photographic illustrations. $8.95.

To mark its centenary year, the publishing firm of Rand McNally has issued this handsome and authoritative volume. It is not the first *Bible Atlas* that it has published; the first appeared as long ago as 1884. But this is a completely new work.

We have been well supplied of late in the matter of Bible Atlases; we have only to think of the *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (a revised edition of which appeared in 1956) and Fr Grollenberg's *Atlas of the Bible*, reviewed in the *P.E.Q.* for 1957, p. 146. The present volume could perhaps be more accurately described as a history of Bible times, with special reference to meteorology, geography and topography, illustrated by maps. The 22 colour maps appear together between pp. 224 and 265. Excellent as they are, they suffer by comparison with those in Grollenberg's work. But what is really significant in this book is the text, and Dr. Emil Kraeling's performance amply justifies the commendatory words with which his brother, Dr. Carl H. Kraeling, describes him in the Preface: " an author whose standing in the scholarly and religious community . . . is of the highest order. What he has written should commend itself to the new generation of Bible students, who, as intelligent men and women, still find the Scripture a foundation stone of the understanding of history and the well-spring of their religous life and inspiration."

Dr. Kraeling's survey covers the period from the early civilizations of the Near East to the end of the first century A.D., and there are few matters of biblical history or geography which he does not discuss, except that the interval between the closing days of the Persian domination and the coming of the Romans is passed over in almost complete silence. But surely I and II Maccabees are to be reckoned as biblical books—for the purpose of such a work as this, at any rate ! (This complaint has reference to the text, not to the maps, which do take the Hellenistic age into account.) The identification of biblical localities receives detailed attention, and rival suggestions are given fair treatment. The traditional site of Sinai is regarded as on the whole the most probable, but the attractiveness of a site in North-west Arabia is conceded. In spite of De Vaux's excavations at Tell el-Far'ah, Dr. Kraeling is plainly not too sure about the identification with Tirzah, and still thinks of the possibility that it may rather be Ophrah.

The first chapter, entitled " Journey into the Past ", begins with an account of the discovery and significance of the Qumran scrolls, and Dr. Kraeling reverts to this fascinating subject when he reaches the first century A.D.; he thinks of John the Baptist and possibly Jesus too as having had connections with the Qumran sect (pp. 368 ff.).

On p. 312, col. 2, " J. D. Wiseman " should be " D. J. Wiseman "; on p. 316, col. 1, " the Assyrian staff " should be " the Babylonian staff "; on p. 442, col. 1, " Boulouterion " should be " Bouleuterion ".

F. F. B.

Scripta Judaica II. Qumran Studies. By Chaim Rabin. Oxford University Press. 1957. xv, 136 pp. 21*s.*

The second volume in the series *Scripta Judaica* sponsored by the Manchester Institute of Jewish Studies, under the editorship of Rabbi A. Altmann, is a collection of studies in the Qumran literature by Professor Chaim Rabin, now of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. There are eight studies in all: seven of them represent the enlargement of three lectures delivered at Durham University and the eighth (on " Islam and the Qumran Sect ") is based on a lecture given to the Manchester Institute of Jewish Studies.

The Qumran sectaries have been identified with Essenes, Sadducees and Zealots. It would be surprising if no one arose to maintain that they were associated with the Pharisees, and the fact that Dr. Rabin defends this view means that it is defended with great scholarly ability. He examines successively the Qumran novitiate, the role of private property in the community, the holy congregation, the sect and its opponents, some beliefs and practices, *halakhah* and the making of law; and compares each of these aspects of the community's life with the Pharisaic counterpart. His conclusion is that the Qumran sect and Rabbinic Judaism both claimed to be the true heir to the Pharisaic tradition. The Qumran sectaries, that is to say, were Pharisees who refused to follow the new paths which Rabbinic Judaism began to mark out in the course of the first century A.D. Dr. Rabin does not attempt to date their cleavage from Rabbinic Judaism more definitely, nor does he suggest identifications for any of the personalities mentioned in the Qumran texts. After the breach, he suggests, the sect lived in obscurity for some 500 years, and exercised some influence on Muhammad before he came to Medina.

Few writers on the Dead Sea Scrolls have equipped themselves with anything like the detailed knowledge of relevant Rabbinic literature which Dr. Rabin possesses. His presentation of his case bears the hallmark of well-informed and judicial authority—although the reviewer continues to prefer the view that the breach took place in the first century B.C., and that the leaders on the opposite side were not Yohanan ben Zakkai and his successors but Simeon ben Shetach and his followers.

The volume is dedicated to Professor G. R. Driver.

F. F. B.

Dix Ans de Découvertes dans le Désert de Juda. By J. T. Milik. Editions du Cerf, 29, Boulevard Latour-Maubourg, Paris VIIe. 1957. 121 pp., 35 plates.

Father Milik, who has been actively engaged for the past five years on the acquisition, decipherment and publication of manuscripts from the wilderness of Judaea, has given us in this little book a useful and reliable account of the progress of these discoveries to the beginning of 1957. In a chronological table of the period from 175 B.C. to A.D. 135 he gives in parallel columns historical events and allusions in the Qumran and Murabba'at documents; some of these allusions appear to occur in texts which have not yet been published, and our appetite is whetted for more information. What, for example, is the significance of " massacres par *Šlmṣywn* (nom hébreu d'Alexandra) " printed opposite Alexandra's reign, in reference to something found in the Qumran literature? We must wait and see.[1]

---

[1] Cf. Father Milik's remarks in *Supplement to Vetus Testamentum* IV (1956), p. 26.

Father Milik gives his own interpretation of some of the chief personages mentioned in the Qumran texts: the Wicked Priest, for example, is identified with Jonathan the Hasmonean. The Teacher of Righteousness is not identified, but it is suggested that he may have been looked upon by his followers as the priestly Messiah destined to build the new Jerusalem. The suggestion is hazarded that a priestly, as distinct from a royal Messiahship is hinted at in Luke i, 5, 36, where Jesus appears to have been connected, through Mary, with the family of Aaron. Since, however, the Davidic descent of Jesus is emphasized in the same narrative, it is unlikely that Luke saw any messianic significance in his possible relationship to the priestly line.

F. F. B.

Phylakterien aus Höhle 4 von Qumran. Herausgegeben von Karl Georg Kuhn. Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg. 1957. 31 pp. 25 plates. DM.12.80.

Professor Kuhn of Heidelberg, who has already given us some highly important studies in the Qumran literature, turns his attention in this *Abhandlung* of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences (Philosophic and Historical Division) to the four fragmentary phylacteries discovered in Cave 4. (A similar fragment from Cave 1 has already been published in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, I.) The upshot of his examination is that the Qumran phylacteries contained the passages Deut. v, 1–vi, 9; x, 12–xi, 21; Ex. xiii, 1–10; xiii, 11–16—as contrasted with the phylacteries of traditional orthodoxy which, as first attested in *Mekhilta* on Ex. xiii, 16, comprise Ex. xiii, 1–10; xiii, 11–16; Deut. vi, 4–9; xi. 13–21. It is noteworthy that the later phylacteries found at Murabba‘at conform exactly to the prescriptions of traditional orthodoxy, and also conform (even in minor points of orthography and in the marking of the *parashah* divisions) to the Massoretic text of the passages exhibited. Questions of the shape as well as the content of the phylacteries are discussed by the author in a study which, short as it is, is a valuable contribution to the literature on the Qumran texts.

F. F. B.

OBITUARY

VERE GORDON CHILDE

By the death of Professor Gordon Childe the world of learning has lost a unique personality. He was a scholar whose integrity was universally recognized; he maintained in the new world of material culture re-created by archaeologists—and by none more than by himself—the highest standards of the older book-learning.

Though he claimed to be a Marxist, he was too great a man and too original a thinker to bear any sectarian label. His intellectual powers and his memory were both first-rate and formidable; he was able to master at first hand the archaeology of the whole of Europe and the Near East, and to present the results in a readable form to his colleagues and to the public. His views on the origin and growth of civilization were original and revolutionary, and they have profoundly influenced all the best contemporary thought.

Perhaps his most outstanding single achievement was his exposition of the invention of agriculture, bringing about what he called the Neolithic Revolution. Some, including the present writer, looked at human history from the same point of view, led to it by him, and were glad to see it so cogently expounded. All of us, whatever our views, welcomed and devoured his books, referring constantly to them; for we knew that he was incapable of distorting facts to suit a theory.

Indeed, he was disconcertingly frank in stating objections, and the limitations of existing knowledge. He was a great synthesizer, and although his work was supranational in scope and outlook, he has helped to establish the high reputation of British archaeology. By temperament he was inclined to pessimism, but his fundamental goodness saved him from cynicism. His health was never robust, but the strength of his mind and character counterbalanced his physical limitations. He used to say that it was necessary for him to climb a mountain from time to time; and it may have been such an occasion that brought about his tragic death. He will be mourned by his friends throughout the world.

O. G. S. C.

O. G. S. CRAWFORD

Dr. O. G. S. Crawford died peacefully in his sleep at his home near Southampton on the night of Thursday, November 28th, 1957. He was 71.

Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford's ancestors came from Fife and Aberdeen but were established in England as early as the 18th century. He was born in Bombay in 1886 where his father was a judge of the High Court and had the misfortune to lose both parents early in life. He was brought up by his father's sisters and in due course was sent to Marlborough. Here he was unhappy but the kindly influence of F. B. Malim and also of the antiquity-haunted countryside in which he found himself turned his early interest strongly towards archaeology. For this he had a natural genius, and once his feet were set in this path he never looked back. He had little conventional success at Marlborough, and the position did not alter very much when he went up to Keble after winning an exhibition. While he was at Oxford he came under new influences and notably those of H. J. E. Peake of Newbury and of Dr. J. P. Williams-Freeman, the pioneer of field archaeology in Hampshire. Encouraged by Peake he gave up Greats and took the new Geography Diploma course under Herbertson. Thus he had to be content with a pass B.A., and even this was not achieved without some anxieties. Meanwhile his ruling passion was asserting itself. Its first expression was in his Diploma thesis on the field archaeology of the Andover district. This was a pioneer study in archaeological distribution and illustrated his determination to study prehistory against its background of geographical environment.

It was difficult for a young man to find gainful employment in archaeology in 1910 and Crawford did not disdain the very minor post of Junior Demonstrator in the Oxford School of Geography. From 1910 to 1912 he tried his hand at excavation, wrote a paper on Early Bronze Age distributions which attracted some attention from the discriminating, and took the Diploma Course in Anthropology. His first chance came when he joined Sir Henry Wellcombe's Sudanese excavations as an assistant in 1913-14.

The Sudan was his first love and nothing gave him greater pleasure in later years than the long visits he was able to make there in 1950 and 1951.

Returning to England in June, 1914, he resumed his field work, but this was cut short by the outbreak of war. He joined the London Scottish and was in the trenches by December, 1914. It was to be a varied war for Crawford and the duties he performed in the service were to foreshadow many of the later developments of his career. In 1915 he was transferred to the survey side of the Third Army, did much dangerous work as a photographer, and carried out a variety of duties in connection with making military maps which brought him into contact with people who were later to be his colleagues in the Ordnance Survey. By 1917 he achieved a new ambition in being transferred into the Royal Flying Corps. In due course he got his Observer's badge and saw much more than the war zone from his new point of vantage, for it was now that he realized the power of aerial observation in archaeological reconnaissance. A new technique was born. Shot down in 1918 he underwent a short period of captivity during which he matured his ideas for his first book *Man and his Past* which he had first roughed out during a period of convalescence from war wounds.

After demobilisation there was a period of uncertainty. Some time was spent on field work in Wiltshire and there was an interlude in Merionethshire digging for the Cambrian Archaeological Society, but with 1920 the prospect of a permanent job appeared. For a long time past it had become increasingly clear that the archaeology shown on Ordnance Survey maps was getting out of touch with current thought. The Director General, Sir Charles Close, was anxious for reform and had already had some contacts with Crawford during the war. Crawford had not neglected the opportunity to give Sir Charles his own views on archaeological cartography, and steps were now taken which led the Ministry of Agriculture to sanction a new post of Archaeology Officer to the Ordnance Survey.

Crawford took this up in October, 1920. It was a humble beginning, but Crawford jumped at the opportunity to be paid, though very inadequately, to do work which he badly wanted to do anyhow. Thus began twenty years' association with the Ordnance Survey. Although they gave Crawford scope to develop his ideas in a large way they were not always easy years. He was full of new proposals and the impatience of youth, while ranged against him was a close professional caste which resented his presence as a civilian and treated his subject with politely veiled contempt. It was an uphill struggle made no easier by the financial starvation which bedevilled Ordnance Survey affairs from 1920 to 1938. Crawford came to the Survey full of desire to carry out a large programme of field archaeology which, as he understood it, required careful examination of the countryside for visible evidences of the past, backed by documentary and place name studies, the use of air photography, and the development of distribution maps. His first task was to convince those in control that he really would have to go and look at sites if he were to be able to advise how they should be shown on maps, and even this was not conceded without a contest. There were other similar conflicts over matters which seem elementary to us today.

Meanwhile the new air-photographic technique was first fully described in a lecture given to the Royal Geographic Society in March, 1922, which resulted in a friendship with Alexander Keiller. An aerial reconnaissance of Wessex followed which came to fruition in 1928 in the joint publication of *Wessex from the Air*, an epoch-making book which has had world-wide effects.

Crawford spent a great deal of his official time on field work. For a long time he was virtually without staff, and the rate of revision was running so low that chances to overhaul the maps were disappointingly few. For most of twenty years he ranged the country gathering the unique field experience which was later set forth in his *Archaeology in the Field.*

Large quantities of new material were stored up for future use in revision, but although he covered a remarkable amount of ground, mostly on his faithful bicycle, the fruit of all this effort is to be seen more in the working out of principles than in the actual bulk of material collected, impressive though it was. The truth is that no one man could cope with the mass of work to be done. Crawford's use of new techniques was so triumphant that he was bound to be overwhelmed by his own success.

The Ordnance Survey authorities viewed all this with comparative unconcern. He did not find himself in congenial surroundings working among professional soldier surveyors who did not understand him. His own intense and sometimes prickly individualism led to a number of brushes and it was found to be most comfortable for all concerned to leave him largely to his own devices. Only towards the close of his period at the Survey did it become possible to convince his superiors that any other member of the staff should be permitted to help him in his field work.

One of the results of all this travel was contact with a great variety of people concerned in greater or lesser degree with the same objects as himself. He early became well known to the leaders of archaeological work in the country who were like minded with himself, but not the least important part of his influence was the way in which he could inspire those right outside the main current of archaeological work. Of course he early acquired a following through *Antiquity*, but out of his travels was born his system of correspondents which did so much to extend field work and to secure information for the Survey in regions which he could not find time to cover. Inevitably the system was haphazard, but it did good work, and it has been greatly extended and improved today. To many who had little contact with the main stream a visit by Crawford to their district was a joy and an inspiration.

One of Crawford's strongest points was the wideness of his mind in relation to his field work. He was an active worker in documentary sources and he searched diligently for old cartographic material. His propaganda for the preservation of old maps led to the rescue of much vital material which was mouldering away in solicitors' and estate offices, and the movement for the preservation of records now widespread in the country owes much to him. He was also concerned with small things and knew the evidential value of the odd coin and sherd of pottery which are too often brushed aside as of no account.

The most obvious monument of his time at the Survey was the series of period maps which he produced between 1924 and 1940. Space does not permit a discussion of them in detail, but they covered a wide field from Neolithic Britain down to the 17th century. The most famous map is that of Roman Britain which has set a standard for the world. The Survey was only induced to embark on this programme with reluctance, but its obvious success with the public effected a conversion and the policy continues to flourish.

Crawford was a born journalist with a sharp eye for a scoop. In 1926 he founded *Antiquity*, which he carried on triumphantly as a directly controlled personal enterprise till his death. Designed at first as an organ for the active group of archaeologists working in Britain at the time, it rapidly extended its scope and has been the means of bringing all that is best and really news in archaeology throughout the world to a wide circle of readers. As early as the second number there was evidence of Crawford's enterprise in its objective account of the Glozel forgeries, and at all times readers could look forward to his trenchantly worded editorials which commented fearlessly on the progress of archaeology, commending every advance and roundly castigating obscurantism and folly.

During his period at the Survey Crawford lost no opportunities for foreign travel, and his range, though confined to the Old World, extended to the Volga, Georgia, Iraq, and many parts of North Africa, to say nothing of most parts of Europe.

His objective varied. Sometimes he wanted to see primitive life still being lived in the 20th century; at others he was prospecting the archaeological possibilities of countries not too well known in Western Europe, like Bulgaria and Roumania. Then there were journeys to rescue important air-photographic material taken by the R.A.F. in Iraq, and also to play his part as secretary of the International Committee for the Map of the Roman Empire. His camera always went with him, and he used it with imagination.

Crawford's effective connection with the Ordnance Survey ended in 1940 when the office was destroyed by enemy action. It was sad that this had to happen just as he was at last gathering a small staff, but he now transferred to the National Buildings Record where he made full use of his skill with the camera until the end of 1945. Retirement came in 1946, and the final decade of his life was a period of great activity writing books, editing *Antiquity*, and working on topographical studies in Wessex and Southampton. He also resumed his travels to some extent and made the journeys to the Sudan as mentioned above. In 1951 he published his *History of The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, and in 1953 *Archaeology in the Field* appeared.

Honours came to him. In 1940 he was awarded the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographic Society, and in 1952 he was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters by the Universities of Cambridge and Southampton.

He was made a C.B.E. in 1950 and was also elected to the Fellowship of the British Academy. He greatly appreciated all of this, but he was no seeker for honours.

Crawford was an intense individualist and found little to commend in the trend of the modern world towards the mass. He hated bureaucrats and fought many battles with them, and he was not an ideal occupant of a public office. There was sometimes more to be said for his opponents in these conflicts than he was prepared to allow, and a more diplomatic presentation of some of the causes he championed would have been to their advantage. But Crawford was an archaeologist of the first rank and his active time came before that wide public acceptance of archaeology as a science and as a matter of general public interest which he did so much to bring about. His influence through both the spoken and the written word was great and extended far beyond the boundaries of Great Britain. His mind boiled with ideas and those who were his audience in private talk will not forget the torrential monologues which were the product of his long periods of contemplation in solitude. We are fortunate that the most valuable parts of these have found permanent record in print.

Crawford was a fierce enemy of all humbug and had a great capacity for detecting it, but he was a good friend.

His standing as a leading figure in British archaeology is not likely to diminish with the years.

C. W. PHILLIPS.

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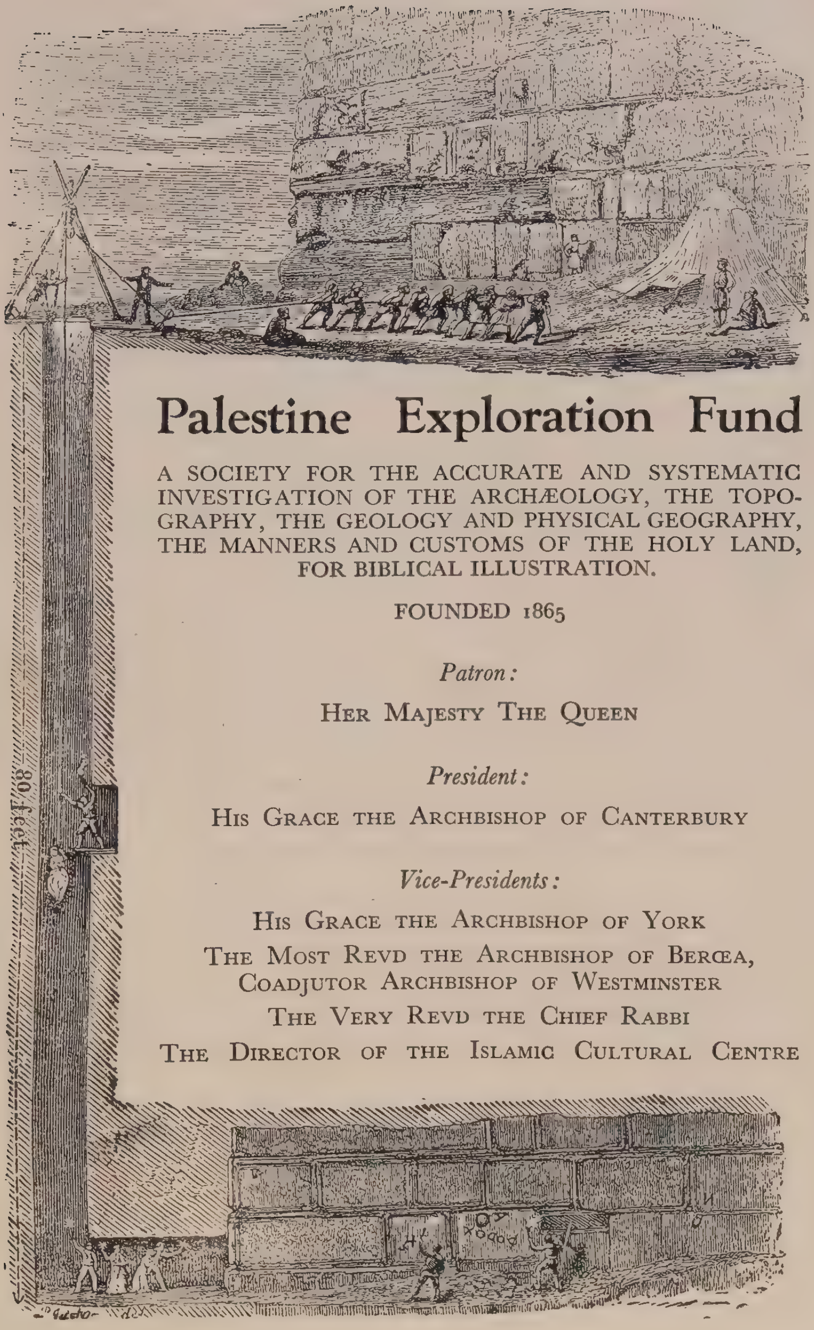

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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

The event of the year in London, so far as Palestinian archaeology is concerned, has been the magnificent Exhibition held in the British Museum during May and June by the Anglo-Israel Exploration Society. Impressive evidence has been provided of the keen interest taken by the British public in biblical and archaeological subjects, as great numbers have come to see the exhibits illustrating three years' excavation of the site of Hazor, identified thirty years ago by Professor John Garstang with the great camp enclosure at Tell el-Qedah, north-west of the Lake of Galilee.

Hazor—the very name means " enclosure "—was a Canaanite capital city in days before the Israelite settlement: in Josh. xi, 10, it is called " the head of all those kingdoms " (i.e., the kingdoms of Eastern Galilee). Its surviving circuit wall encloses an area of 200 by 600 metres, twelve times larger than any other ancient city of Palestine; it could have housed 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants. While much in its early history is still obscure—the excavators have been at work for only three seasons—it was plainly an important place in the early patriarchal age (18th century B.C.). A small part of the Middle Bronze Age city was discovered in 1956. It was built on virgin soil and lasted for about two centuries; then it was destroyed by fire. Here was found a babies' cemetery, the infants being buried in jars under the floors of houses, perhaps having died from an epidemic. More important was the find in 1955–56, at the foot of the rampart, of two pagan Canaanite shrines, complete with their stone idols of the local Baal, and with curved sculptured slabs unique in Palestine. Nearby was a Canaanite " high place " and a large stone altar, under which the ground was found to be honeycombed with a network of tunnels, the purpose of which is not yet clear (Area F).

The next period of the city followed in the 13th century B.C. (Area C). It was dated by an important discovery; amid pieces of local pottery were quantities of pots of the type called Mycenean imported from the Aegean Islands and the Greek mainland which can be dated safely to the 13th century B.C. It seems extremely probable that this was the settlement which met its end at the hands of Joshua and the children of Israel, who regarded it as a strategic key to the occupation of the land. If this is so, we are provided with a further piece of evidence for the thirteenth-century dating of the conquest under Joshua.

In the 10th century B.C., King Solomon rebuilt this key city (I Kings ix, 15) and a fine gateway of his period and a city wall have been discovered. In the following century King Ahab appears to have founded a large public building with nine stone columns, which was projecting from the surface. He also built a strong fortress at the west end of the mound, which survived until the northern half of the kingdom of Israel was occupied and depopulated by the invading army of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III in the reign of Pekah (732 B.C.). Finds in the fortress of this period include a potsherd inscribed with Pekah's name and attractively-carved ivory cosmetic objects. The fortress citadel was again rebuilt by the occupying Assyrians and later, once more, in Persian times. A third rebuilding belongs to the Hellenistic period, probably in connection with the wars of the Maccabees, when Jonathan fought against Demetrius II in 147 B.C. " in the plain of Hazor " (I Macc. xi, 67).

Excavations were continued last year on the site of Gibeon (El-Jib), which not only completed the clearance of the Pool of Gibeon, showing its total depth to be 33 feet, but also revealed a stepped tunnel circling downwards for 49 feet beneath the floor of the pool until it struck water 82 feet below the level of the city square. There a large room was carved out to collect the water. The Gibeonites are described in another connection as " drawers of water "; but this was an exercise with which they must have been quite familiar at home, for to reach their city's water supply they had to descend 79 steps spiralling round the circular wall of the pool, and then a further 79 steps to the subterranean spring-room hewn out of solid rock. No wonder that Dr. James B. Pritchard, Director of the expedition, describes the work as " one of the most remarkable engineering feats of ancient Palestine " (*Illustrated London News*, March 29, 1958, p. 505). The whole water system was demolished when the city was taken by the Babylonians early in the sixth century B.C.

The current number of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (March 1958) contains three articles of special relevance to our interests in this *Quarterly*.

Mr. K. M. T. Atkinson, Reader in Ancient History in Queen's University, Belfast, presents a fresh and challenging study of " The Historical Setting of the ' War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness '." He believes that this work was produced in Egypt about 170 B.C., in a Jewish group closely associated with the temple at Leontopolis founded by Onias IV. Egypt, he maintains, is viewed as the protector of Israel against " Assyria " (i.e., the Seleucid power), and the term *Kittim* is one " which will apply equally to enemies and to friends " (p. 276). The military dispositions and so forth are based on Greek tactical manuals, of the type which the Roman Cato used about the same date for his work *De Re Militari*. The author of the *War* document, however, misunderstood much that he found in his military source-books. Mr. Atkinson's arguments, which amplify those of J. G. Février in " La tactique hellénistе dans un texte de 'Ayin Fashkha "

(*Semitica* III, 1950, 53 ff.), are worthy of careful examination, even if some of us conclude at the end that the battle-formation in 1QM presents much more affinity to the Roman *triplex acies* than it does to the Hellenistic phalanx.

Dr. John Bowman, whose energetically conducted Samaritan Seminar at Leeds University is engaged on work which will one day enhance the high prestige of his Department, contributes an article on " Samaritan Studies ", which deals with three important subjects: (1) the Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans; (2) faith in Samaritan thought; (3) Samaritan law and liturgy. These studies are commended to the attention of all who are interested in the Samaritans.

Professor Morton Smith of Columbia University devotes a lengthy study of forty pages to " The Image of God ", more specifically, the hellenization of Judaism, with special reference to E. R. Goodenough's work on Jewish symbols. Among other things, he has some interesting observations to make on the *menorah* as representing the tree of life—a symbol of the divinity which is imaged in man and which may rest upon him. He believes that this idea was revived in Judaism under the influence of Graeco-Roman culture.

Dr. F. M. Cross's book, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (reviewed on pp. 145 f. of this number), contains a passage which throws light on a technical problem pointed out in the article *Spurious Texts from Qumran?* appearing in our last number. Dr. Teicher pointed out that at times fragments represented by the editors as belonging to the same document do not fit well together; Mr. Allegro pointed out certain reasons which might account for this. Dr. Cross says: " Often a fragment will exhibit an area of acute decay and shrinkage in the midst of otherwise pliable leather. The bad spot may draw the entire fragment into a crinkled or scalloped ball, so that the fragment is almost impossible to flatten. The script in such an area of decay may be shrunk to half or less the size of that in good areas. Often such decomposition in sheets of leather has caused splitting and fragmentation, and the problems of fitting into one manuscript healthy, light fragments alongside of wizened and blackened scraps are, to say the least, tedious " (pp. 28 f.). When such re-joined fragments are photographically reproduced, one can well understand that the presence of apparent inconcinnities will be inevitable.

Dr. Teicher has contributed an interesting article entitled " Dead Sea Fragment of an Apocryphal Gospel " to *The Times Literary Supplement* for March 21, 1958. The " Apocryphal Gospel " in question is the document more commonly known as 4Q *Testimonia*, which brings together Old Testament passages referring to a coming prophet (Deut. xviii, 15 ff.), a coming conqueror (Num. xxiv, 17) and a Levitical priest (Deut. xxxiii, 8 ff.), and follows these with the quotation of Joshua's curse on the rebuilder of Jericho (Josh. vi, 26). The first three quotations are regularly supposed to refer to the three eschatological figures of Qumran expectation—the prophet and the Messiahs of Israel and Aaron (*cf.* 1QS ix. 11)—while the last is more problematical (*cf.* p. 146 of this issue). The relation of this Qumran use of *testimonia* to the use of such passages in the Christian Church is an interesting study. Dr. Teicher, however, argues that the document is Jewish-Christian and that the first three *testimonia* are intended to refer to Jesus, while the last refers to Antichrist. In the course of his argument he makes the interesting suggestion that Deut. xxxiii, 9 (part of the third *testimonium*) underlies the words of Jesus in Matt. x. 37 and parallels (" He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me . . . "). One need not accept Dr. Teicher's main thesis to find in his article much valuable material which calls for closer study. But it is a pity that he should try to support his literary-historical argument by devoting more than one-third of his article to an attack on Père de Vaux's interpretation of the archaeological evidence.

We have received with great interest the announcement of a new periodical, which its sponsors intend to launch this year; it may be that its first issue will have been published by the time these " Notes and News " appear. This is the *Revue de Qumran*, to be published by Letouzey & Ané, 87, Boulevard Raspail, Paris VIe, under the editorship of Abbé J. Carmignac, 50, Rue de Vangirard, Paris VIe. It is hoped that a notable proportion of articles on Qumran which would otherwise be dispersed among a large variety of periodicals will be concentrated in this new review. However, we expect that for many years to come the number of articles on Qumran will be so large that no single periodical can accommodate them all, and we should like to think that some of the best will continue to find their way to the *P.E.Q.*! But we heartily wish this new enterprise all success.[1]

It is a pleasure to mention the appearance of a volume of over 800 pages entitled *Eleven Years of Bible Bibliography*, edited by Professor H. H. Rowley (Falcon's Wing Press, Indian Hills, Colorado; $7.50). Old Testament students throughout the world are familiar with the annual *Book List* issued by the Society for Old Testament Study. For eleven years Professor Rowley was editor of the *Book List*, and while he was assisted by a panel of reviewers appointed for the purpose, he took the lion's share of the work himself. The *Book List*, as we have come to know and value it, is really his creation. The publication of this omnibus volume, therefore, is a fitting monument to the self-denying service which he has rendered in this way to Old Testament scholarship. The volume is sure of a place on many a scholar's shelf as an indispensable work of reference.

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[1] The first number has appeared (July 1958) and fully comes up to expectations.

In late September or early October of this year Mr. Peter J. Parr, Secretary-Librarian of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, hopes to commence excavations at Petra, in order primarily to obtain a full and closely-dated type-series of Nabataean and Roman pottery. We look forward to seeing a report of his findings in a future number of the *Quarterly*.

The recent publication of the third and last volume of *Samaria-Sebaste* is a major event in the calendar of the Palestine Exploration Fund. A review will appear in our next number. A contribution of £375 towards the cost of its publication was received from *The Grace Mary Crowfoot Memorial Fund*. It was supported by sixty friends and admirers as a tribute to her memory, and their gifts are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

The Editor takes the liberty of reminding contributors:

(*a*) That all contributions must be in typescript, written on one side of the page only.

(*b*) That no extensive alterations or additions to proofs can be accepted.

(*c*) That illustrations must be arranged by the author as he wishes them to appear in the text, with plain directions regarding scale of reproduction (which must be related to the size of page in the *Quarterly*); and that the places where figures are to appear in the text must be clearly indicated in the MS.

(*d*) That contributors of articles will receive 20 offprints without charge. If any extra offprints are required they will be supplied at the author's expense if ordered before the publication of the issue in which the contribution appears. Contributors of reviews will receive one extra copy of the *Quarterly*.

ESSAY ON A PHOENICIAN EAR-RING

by W. Culican

Works of Phoenician art are so rarely encountered that archaeologists have doubted for half a century the existence of any branch of artistry we may legitimately call Phoenician. They were, it is maintained, the master borrowers of antiquity and having nothing to call their own, either traded abroad foreign goods or made an unlovely symposium of Egyptian, Assyrian and even Hittite forms. Nor have any major archaeological discoveries in recent years served to modify the picture painted in all school books of this enterprising if sinister race, " the Dutch of the ancient world," trading little besides their purple cloth into distant seas. Yet from authors of antiquity we learn of the Phoenicians not only as purveyors but as manufacturers of the exquisite in many fields ranging from the metal work of Phoenicia herself, so celebrated in Homer, to the patterned cloth fabrics manufactured even in the outlying colonies of Motya and Malta.

Much that was made by Phoenicia has inevitably perished and the cities they built are now mostly plundered or underseas. But the discovery in recent years of a large class of ivory work[1] has made us aware that although much of Phoenician maritime prowess was undoubtedly an historical conceit of the ancients, the recovery of some traces of their artistic activities is not beyond archaeological possibility. Stylistically the ivories are full of incongruities, but cannot be explained as a hotch-potch of foreign motifs. On the contrary, much in them is strikingly original and embodies a tradition of Phoenician and Syrian art, which even in borrowing transforms itself in a distinct way[1]. Indeed such is the distinctive artistic tradition of these ivories that an ever growing body of opinion is inclined to reverse the Phoenician tables upon Egypt and to argue the existence of griffons, palmettes, and other motifs in Egyptian art because of Syrian or Phoenician trade in the 2nd millennium[2]. At a later period, when the influence of Phoenicia and Syria extended in the early first millennium into the W. Mediterranean, the problem of defining that influence becomes even greater, and in the light of it every recognizably Phoenician object of the West acquires great importance, even if it be as small and as *prima facie* insignificant as an ear-ring.

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[1] Ivories from Arslan Tash, Samaria, Nimrud, Megiddo, etc. have recently been redrawn and published in atlas form by C. Decamps de Mertzenfeld; *Inventaire Commenté des Ivoires Phéniciennes*, Paris, 1954. To these must now be added the important plaques from Ras-Shamra, *Syria*, XXXI, p. 62, pl. VIII and fig. 9, and the ivory bed panels pls. IX and X, which add new motifs to the second millennium group. For two early Phoenician ivories found in Egypt, recently acquired by Cairo Mus., Keimer, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Egypte*, XXVIII, p. 127. To the later group (9th–8th cents. B.C.) recent ivories from Nimrud, *Iraq*, XV and XVI, and Miss J. Lines, *Bull. Metrop. Mus. Art.*, XIII, 8, also *I.L.N.* April 14, 1956 (from Hazor). It is possible to single out some stylistic groups amongst the later examples but impossible to state which pieces were made in Phoenicia proper as opposed to Syria and Palestine. Frankfort's admirable study, *Pelican History of Art*, p. 191, makes a distinction between the 9th and 8th cent. groups but on difficulties involved see Mallowan, *Iraq*, Pt. I, p. 108. De Mertzenfeld's work does not include the stray examples from Samos and Crete nor the post 8th c. examples *A.A.S.O.R.* 1920, p. 24, Barnett, *Iraq*, 1937, and Woolley *J.H.S.* vol. LVIII pl. XIII (Al Mina). A fragment of 8th c. type from Sardinia (Cagliari Mus.) is noteworthy.

Bought in Bloomsbury, the ear-ring was lent to the Ashmolean Museum by Dr. Joan Evans. The recorded provenance of Deltaic Egypt is untrustworthy but merits comment. The length of the piece in its present condition —the upper part of the loop is missing—is 8·3 cm. It is of pale-gold and consists of three main elements:—

(A) A leech- or boat-shaped loop made of two gold foils hammered together at the edges and bound at one side by a coil of gold wire which also served to catch and fasten the free end of the loop in a manner characteristic of Phoenician ear-rings[3]. The leech is hollow inside and is decorated on both sides by a palmette of appliqué wire outlined with granules.

(B) A pair of hawks, each made from an outer gold plate and part of an inner one common to both birds. Their style is that of the Egyptian Horus hawk. Feathers in shallow repoussé cover the heads and backs and at the base form two loops round a gold tube on which hangs

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[1] For a typically Phoenician treatment of an Egyptian motif see the winged-disc plaque, de Mertzenfeld *op. cit.* no. 923 (from Arslan Tash).

[2] The thesis of Montet, *Les Reliques de l'Art Syrien dans l'Égypte*, etc., Paris, 1937, has the imperfection of not attempting to define motifs that are purely Syrian as opposed to generally Aegean or "Keftian" and of attempting to arrive at an understanding of "Syrian" art by means of wall-paintings which are difficult to interpret. But in general his arguments when supported by further evidence sometimes available lead to a conclusion which must be accepted as correct. For review see J. & N. Davies, *J.E.A.* 1938, p. 253, and for a detailed analysis of motifs, *The Tunic of Tutankhamun*, *J.E.A.*, VII, 1941, p. 120 ff., by Crowfoot & Davies; and Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, p. 21ff. (The Dagger of Tutankhamun.)

[3] Cp. Chebab, *Bull. Mus. Beyrouth*, I, p. 16, fig. 9, for an early example probably from Byblos region; Quintero, *Necropolis ante-romana de Cadix*, pls. 3 and 4; Cintas, *Contribution à l'Etude de l'Expansion Carthaginoise*, fig. 76 (from Mogador). Several examples from Amrit, de Ridder, *Collection Clerq* passim; Carthage, Gauckler, *Nécropoles Puniques* I, pl. LVI. This type of fastening is rare in Egypt and does not occur in Greece.

(C) A pendant of five pieces made up into a vase-like bulla. The neck is formed of a thin gold tube bound at top and bottom by two thicker hoops and terminating in a flat cap. The body of the pendant is formed of a single foil and terminates in a separate small knob. The neck and lower portion of the bulla are decorated with opposing pyramids of granules. Petals outlined in wire and granules decorate the upper body and a torsade of wire with a granule in each twist encircles the body between two wire bands. One of these petals is filled with an inlay of amber paste and traces of this material show that all the petals of the body and leech were originally so inlaid. The weight of the bulla suggests that it is filled with solid matter[1].

These three elements are strung together by three spiral-ended hooks, each soldered on to one of the elements. Plate VII, fig. 1, shows the piece approximately twice the actual size and Plate VII, fig. 2, is an enlargement of detail.

Precisely similar ear-rings have not been preserved in the Phoenician homeland, but the Punic necropolis of Tharros in Sardinia has furnished a number of examples. A well-known one was published *Bull Arch. Sardo.* Anno 2, p. 60,[2] with a palmette-decorated leech ending in two rudimentary hawk-heads of granulation, a single hawk made up of two plates, and a pendant somewhat similar in decoration to the Evans piece. The original is in Cagliari museum (Spano Collection) and upon examination appears to have been inlaid with paste. The pair of this piece exists in the Chessa collection[3] and parts of two others are preserved in Cagliari Museum (Taramelli, *Guido al Museo di C.*, p. 73). A hawk from another is in Sassari Museum and Spano informs us of the existence of several others all from Tharros and all lost into private collections.[4] In all we have evidence of a considerable number of such ear-rings in the past, and a similar piece is illustrated by Marshall, *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, No. 1495 (Tharros), consisting of a hawk-headed leech and a rather spherical granulated bulla. It is possible that the Evans piece also came from Sardinia, as not all the Vernon and Warren collections of Tharros jewellery reached museums and the piece is manifestly not Egyptian.

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[1] It has not been possible to open the pendant: a similar type was filled with bitumen and examples at Motya are filled with white paste.

[2] Reproduced Perrot & Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia & Cyprus* II, fig. 303; La Marmora, *Sopra alcuna Antichità sarde*, p. 229; *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. XII, pl. LII, no. 27; a good photograph is given Becatti, *Oreficerie Antiche*, Rome 1955, pl. XLI. Photographs of further pendants are given in the *Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia* for Cagliari and Sassari.

[3] Crespi, *Catologo Raimundo Chessa*, p. 87.

[4] *Bull. Arch. Sardo*, 2, p. 47.

The case made by Bertha Segall upon the publication of a filigree ear-ring of hellenistic date[1] for the presence in Egypt of that period of Phoenician jewellers is indeed a very slender one. The gold work from Amrit and Tortosa (de Ridder, *Collection Clerq*, *Bijoux*, passim), from Carthage (*Cat. Mus. Alaoui de Tunis* pl. LVII), from Ibiza and Cadiz (Menendez-Pidal, *Historia d'España* I) all of which is later than the 7th century B.C. and much of which is hellenistic is completely alien in style to anything from Egypt of these periods. A certain amount of Syrian technical influence felt by earlier Egyptian goldsmiths we shall discuss below, but apart from a few finger rings only the ear-ring Schäfer, *Goldschmiedkunst*, p. 64, Abb. 70[2] bears any similarity to Phoenician jewellery as we know it in the first millennium. It has often been thought that the jewellery of Tharros was the work of Egyptian goldsmiths established in Sardinia and indeed a few miniature gold hawks from Tharros are similar to Egyptian pendants,[3] but the hawk as middle part of an ear-ring, whilst well represented in the Phoenician sphere, is unknown in Egypt. Although Tharros had some contact with Egypt[4] it was not necessarily direct, and although the hawk of the Evans piece is in the Egyptian manner the leech is decorated with a dish-palmette typical of Phoenician art in general and of Carthaginian bone and gold work in particular. The vase-like pendant is, as far as we know, largely Western Phoenician allied to Cypriot style, but apart from rare analogies alien to Egypt.[5] Etruria has furnished few of these vase pendants, from sites where the gold work is of early date and strongly orientalizing in style, as at Cumae (Gabrici, *Cuma Monumenti Antichi* XXII).

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[1] *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IX, 1946, pp. 97–107.

[2] XXVI Dynasty in date and with a pendant similar in shape to that of the Evans ear-ring.

[3] Cp. *Bull. Arch. Sardo.* VIII, p. 125, and Vernier, *Cat. Gen. Caire de Bijoux et Orfévreries*, 53, 188 and pl. LXXXV.

[4] A number of small Egyptian antiquities now mostly lost have been found at Tharros. For a general account see Pettigrew, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1852 (where many "Egyptian" objects are certainly Punic or Greek); Spano, *Sopra l'anticha Città di T.*, Typ. Timon Cagliari, mentions a bronze goblet with Isis head in the possession of Lord Vernon. Two Egyptian bronze statuettes are recorded by Lenormant, *Collection Raifé*, 549 and 550—now in Lausanne. The idea of Spano and others that there was at Tharros a pre-Punic Egyptian period was due to the misunderstanding of Phoenician scarabs.

[5] In West Phoenician style three magnificent examples from early tombs at Dermech (Carthage), Gauckler, *Nécropoles Puniques* I, pls. CCV and CCVI; from late 7th century tombs come granulated examples, *Mém. Antiq. de France*, vol. LVI, p. 301, and also Delattre, *Nécropole Punique de Douïmès*, 1893, p. 25, dated by the presence of faïence anthropoid flasks; Whitaker, *Motya, A Phoenician Colony in Sicily*, fig. 110 (silver); Garcia y Bellido, *La Dama de Elche*, fig. 47, from Carmona, Spain. Egyptian analogies of different style, Vernier, *Cat. Gen. Caire Bijoux et Orfévreries*, 52, 674 and pl. XL. The Etruscan vase-pendants are different in shape from the Phoenician, cp. Paretti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi*, pl. XIV, and Mühlstein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, fig. 83 (Caere); Karo, in Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, II; Minto, *Populonia*, pl. XXVIII, No. 10 (from an early 7th c. tomb and near the Evans pendant form). Amongst the Tharros jewellery only a silver chain is of possible Etruscan origin.

A further consideration serves to limit this hawk pendant to the Phoenician sphere. Marshall *B.M. Cat. Jewellery* No. 1495 illustrates one pair of ear-rings from Tharros where the hawk pendant suspends a square basket-like construction with a pyramid of granules upon it; the " cage-and-ball " pendant as it is sometimes called. This cage-and-ball whatever its significance is a purely Phoenician symbol. Examples come from Tortosa, Amathus, Curium, Carthage and Motya and the connexion of the ball-and-cage with the leech and hawk elements is further cemented by a pair of gold ear-rings in the Guilhou Collection and a slightly smaller pair in the Benaki Museum, Athens[1] where the cage is, as at Tharros, held by a golden hawk.

The ball-and-cage according to Myres, *Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 318, went out of use in the 6th century, having appeared in Cyprus in the 7th. That the type was still current at the end of the 6th is shown by examples from Tomb 88 at Amathus[2] and at Tortosa where an example was found in an anthropoid sarcophagus of 5th century date.[3] These however might be heirlooms for it is significant that, whereas Tharros has provided many examples of ball-and-cage pendants in gold silver and bronze, the later (*i.e.* 6th century) cemeteries of Sardinia at Nora and Cagliari have yielded none. Furthermore, the majority of examples at Carthage come from tombs containing late 7th and early 6th century material,[4] whereas the cemeteries of Ibiza whose remains date to the late 6th or early 5th century[5] have not provided a single example. This link therefore with the ball-and -cage type makes a lower limit of the mid-6th century probable for the Evans ear-ring.

Marshall describes the Tharros gold work as a 7th and 6th century group coming from the graves of Phoenician settlers in " the Sardinian town " of that date.[6] This requires some implementation, for the geographical position of Tharros is difficult to explain in accordance with the Phoenician drive to the West. But what little of the vast amount of Tharros material—there are records of cartloads of pots tipped into the sea—survives clearly indicates that it was founded by Phoenicians as a trading-post or regular settlement by the mid-7th century B.C. and was probably the fourth bulkhead of Phoenician power after Carthage, Utica and Motya. Imported Corinthian wares are all in the early style (625–600 B.C. by Payne's dating)[1] and the styles of Punic pottery are mid-7th century at the earliest. Capo San Marco on which the remains of Tharros stand is backed by a high basaltic plateau, heavily studded in antiquity with the nuraghic dwellings of the prehistoric Sards,[2] and the city serves as a natural sea-port to the region most heavily settled by nuraghic peoples in the first half of the first millennium. A certain number of Sardinian bronzes were found in the Tharros tombs[3] and Lilliu has suggested on stratigraphical evidence[4] that the few scarabs and beads documented for the nuraghes reached the Sard settlements before the widespread Carthaginian trade domination in the late 6th century. The Sards were not a sea-going people as far as archaeological remains inform us; their only contact was with mainland Etruria. A number of Sardinian bronze boats (often considered lamps) have been found in the tombs of Vetulonia and elsewhere[5] and a number of Etruscan and Latin fibulae have been found in the nuraghes. It is probable that the Phoenician settlers at Tharros were actively engaged as middlemen in this trade. Quantities of amber have been found at Tharros and some of it traded as a luxury article to the Sards whose pattern of settlement cut them off from the Eastern and Northern coasts of their island. A considerable amount of *bucchero sottile* and some painted Etrusco-corinthian cups are preserved in Sardinian Museums[6] from Tharros, whilst Punic pottery of Tharros type from the Santa

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[1] Sambon, *Cat. du Coll. Guilhou*, p. 18, much of which collection came from Rhodes: Hadaczek, *Ohrschmuck der Griechen etc.*, mentions ball-and-cage ear-rings from that island. Also Bertha Segall, *Kat. der Goldschmiedarbeiten der Benaki Mus.*, p. 21, taf. 6, No. 14.

[2] Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. XIV No. 14; the tomb contained an iron strigil and a pair of ear-rings with horned lion terminals. *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, 1784, which seemed to be of late 5th century.

[3] De Ridder, *Coll. de Clerq, Les Marbres*, No. 2, pl. 1, shows the sarcophagus, ear-rings ibid, *Les Bijoux*, 658.

[4] Gauckler, *Nécropoles Puniques*, I, Tombs 10 and 20 (Dermech) and pl. CCV.

[5] As Forrer has pointed out in his provoking article " Karthago wurde 673–633 gegründet," *Festschrift Franz Dornseiff*, Leipzig 1953, the date 654 B.C. given by Diodorus for the foundation of Ibiza is far anterior to anything discovered in the relatively well explored cemeteries of this island city.

[6] Marshall, *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, p. XXXVIII.

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[1] Unpublished aryballoi in Cagliari and Sassari Museums: cp. Taramelli, *Guido al Museo di Cagliari*, p. 64, and *Boll. d'Arte*, agosto 1914, p. 18. Further pieces in private collections are mentioned by Von Duhn, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 59. The early scarabs from Tharros date mid-7th c. B.C. Cp. Walters, *B.M. Cat. Engraved Gems*, p. XXXI, No. 349, and Schiaparelli, *N.Sc.* 1886, p. 125. See this page, n. 6.

[2] Cp. M. Pinno, *Studi Sardi* IX, 1950, *La Peninsula del Sinis*, and Taramelli, *Cart. Arch. Ital.*, foglio 216. On the nuraghic pattern of settlement, A. Mori, *Bol. della Soc. Geog. Ital.*, 1947, p. 69 ff.

[3] *Bull. Arch. Sardo*, 1884, p. 166 (a bronze boat), pp. 120 and 128 (model daggers); 1885, p. 165 (votive plough), and Cara, *Cenna sopra diversi armi etc. di Tharros*, 1871, p. 120 and tav. D (stiletti) and *Monumenti trovati a Tharros*, 1865, p. 34 (stiletti).

[4] *Rapporti fra la civilta nuragica e la civilta fenicio-punica in Sardegna*, *Studi Etruschi* XVIII.

[5] Examples from Vetulonia "Tomba a tre navicelle," Randall-McIver, *Villanovans and early Etruscans*, p. 226, where 7th c. date is argued; from circular tombs; Milani, *N.Sc.* 1895, p. 24, dated fully 7th c. by Pallotino, *Studi Etruschi* XIII, p. 128; from Populonia, Minto, *Populonia*, tav. XI, and *N.Sc.* 1926, p. 375 ff., a hoard now in Florence Museum.

[6] Cagliari Mus. (Spano Coll.) and the Antiquarian Arborense at Oristano. None of the vases examined by me is protocorinthian. A few aryballoi of Corinthian date survive from Tharros and a considerable number of Etrusco-corinthian vessels. Other factors such as the importation of faïence suggest that Tharros was in touch with the Orient either directly or by way of Carthage where the preponderance of Corinthian vessels over Etrusco-corinthian is great. As the Punic pottery of Tharros does not closely accord typologically with that of Carthage, as for instance does that of Motya, it might be hazarded that this city was an independent foundation of some Phoenician metropolis.

Cerbone necropolis at Populonia further indicates a close relation between Tharros and Etruria during the period of the late 7th and earlier 6th centuries. This relation must have been in part the raison d'être of Tharros and one for which both Phoenicians and Etruscans fought when in 535 B.C. they attacked the settlement of Phocean Greeks at Alallia in Corsica, not so much to defend the Tyrrhenian sea from Greek infiltration as to defend a difficult sea-route from the added perils of piracy.

In considering the date of the Evans ear-ring and its Sardinian relatives this close link between Tharros and Etruria is especially suggestive. The art of gold granulation is a very ancient one: the technique of it must have been revived several times in different places in the ancient world: Egypt, Elam and Mycenae.[1] But Barnett in his comments upon gold work from Tell el-Ajjul has suggested that the technique of granulation was perfected and retained in the Phoenician sphere in an especial way[2], and some view the spread of the art into Etruria as being by Phoenician trade. Archaeologically this view is difficult to sustain in the absence of any Phoenician jewellery datable to the 8th century or to the period immediately preceding the appearance of the technique in Etruria.[3] The granulation style, argues Rosenberg,[4] found on some of the earliest Etruscan jewellery, the "snake-granulation," was introduced into Etruria from the gold work of Ionia and Rhodes. He is not inclined to attribute either the technique or motifs of the Vetulonia or Regolini-Galassi groups of gold work to Phoenician inspiration. As others have followed him, it has become increasingly difficult to appreciate especially in the figurative branch the particular quarter of the Orient which inspired the "orientalizing periods" of Etruscan art. Clearly the debt of Etruscan iconography to the one clearly defined and stylistically homogeneous groups of objects imported from the Orient, the so-called Phoenician bowls[5] was

[1] Densmore Curtis, *Ancient Granulated Jewellery*, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 63 ff. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedkunst*, *Granulation*, passim, and p. 42 for Elam example.

[2] *B.M. Quarterly*, 1952, p. 77, ff.

[3] The gold work from Tell Halaf, von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, p. 192, and Bunttafel III, must now be regarded as 9th c., cf. von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, III, 1955, pp. 7 and 31, but it is provincial in style and apart from the use of granulation on the finger rings shows little refinement. Mention should be made however of an ivory box only published in a drawing, *Der Tell Halaf*, p. 195, which in so far as one can judge from the published illustrations has its gold bands decorated with granules, inlaid petals outlined with wire, and wire appliqué guilloche.

[4] Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–45. However the "daedalic" style of Rhodian jewellery does not compare closely with the Etruscan treatment of similar motifs: the two lions compared by Rosenberg, fig. 68 (Rhodes) and fig. 69 (Vulci), are not alike in style or treatment. To be contrasted rather than compared are the *potnia-theron* motifs. Marshall, *B.M. Cat.* 1128, Rhodes, and the women of the Praeneste bracelet *ibid*, 1356.

[5] For the most convenient notes upon these bowls, Mühlstein, *op. cit.* p. 137 ff. Few good photographs of the bowls have been published and there is not as yet a usefully detailed iconographic discussion.

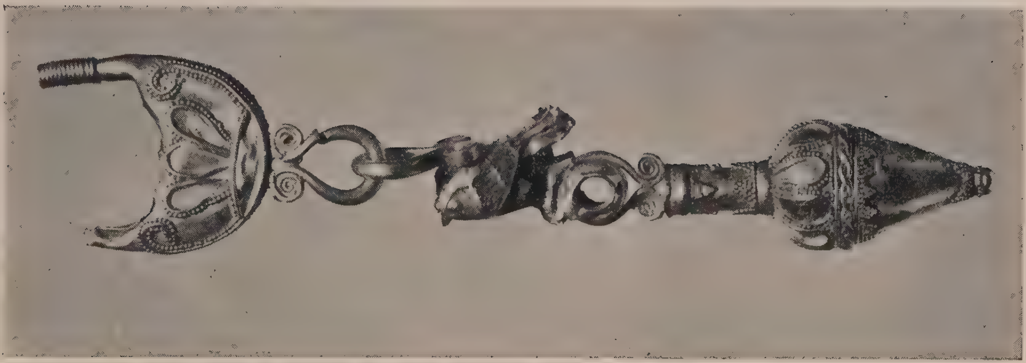


Fig. 1. Phoenician ear-ring (twice actual size).

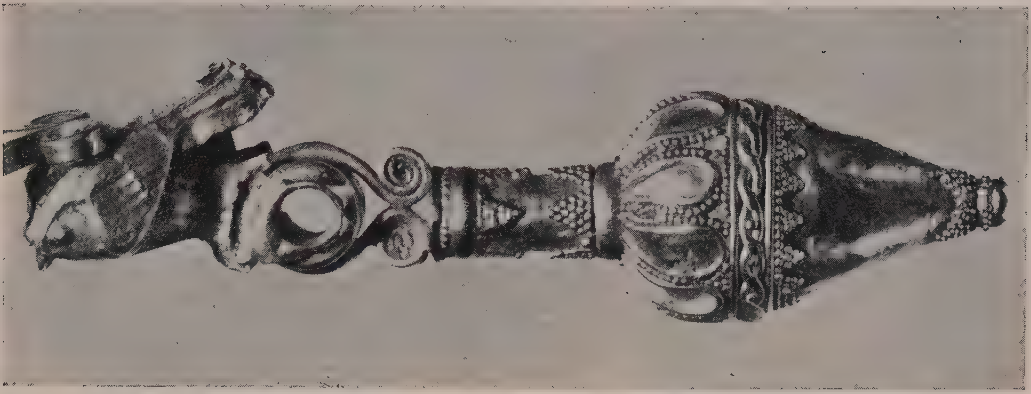


Fig. 2. Enlargement of detail.

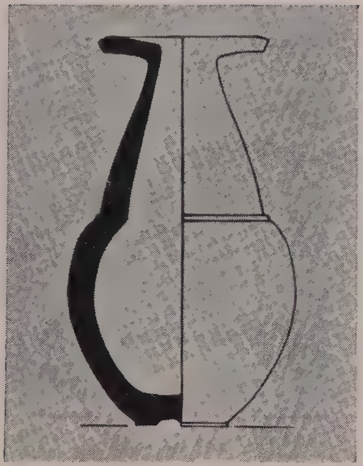


Fig. 3. Glass jug from Aliseda treasure.

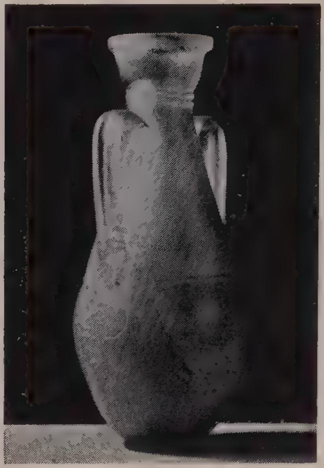


Fig. 4. Vase from Giardine Margherita.

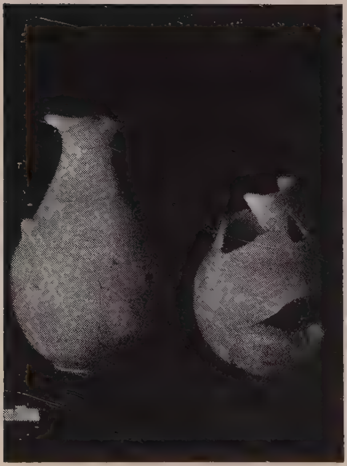


Fig. 5. Quartzite jugs from tomb of Queen Khenisa.

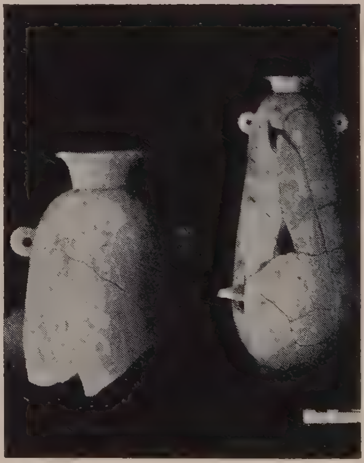


Fig. 6. Alabastra from tomb of Queen Khenisa.

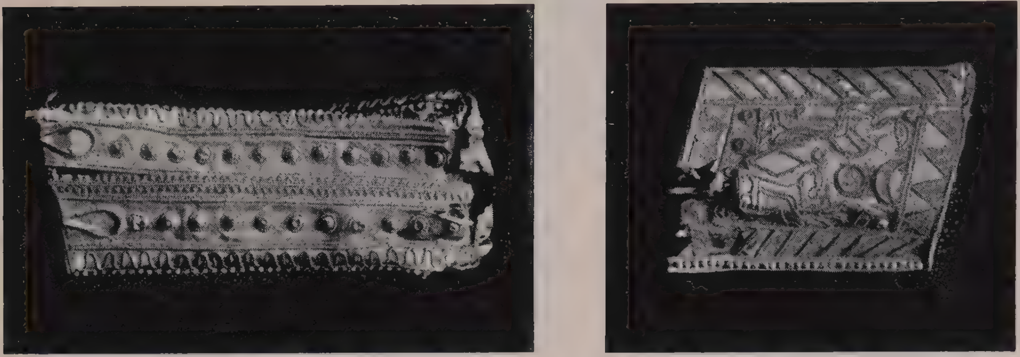


Fig. 7. Goldwork from Byblos.

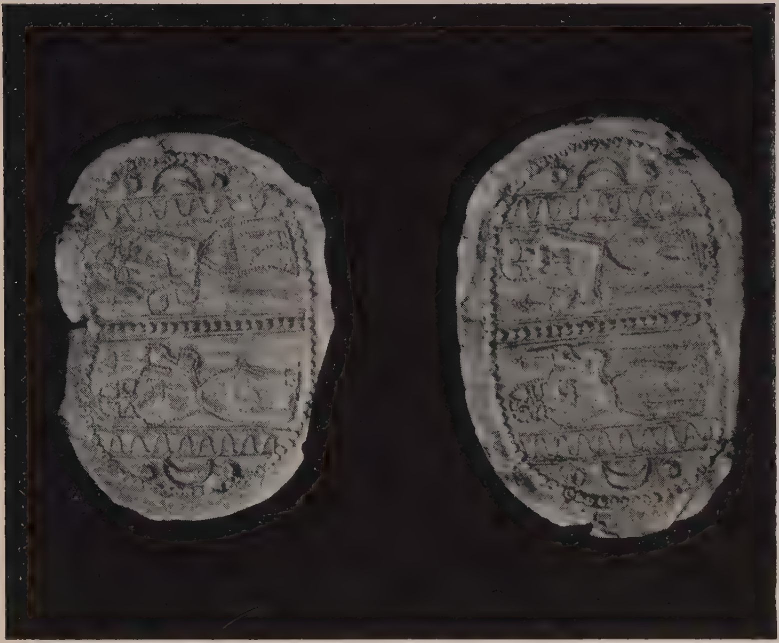
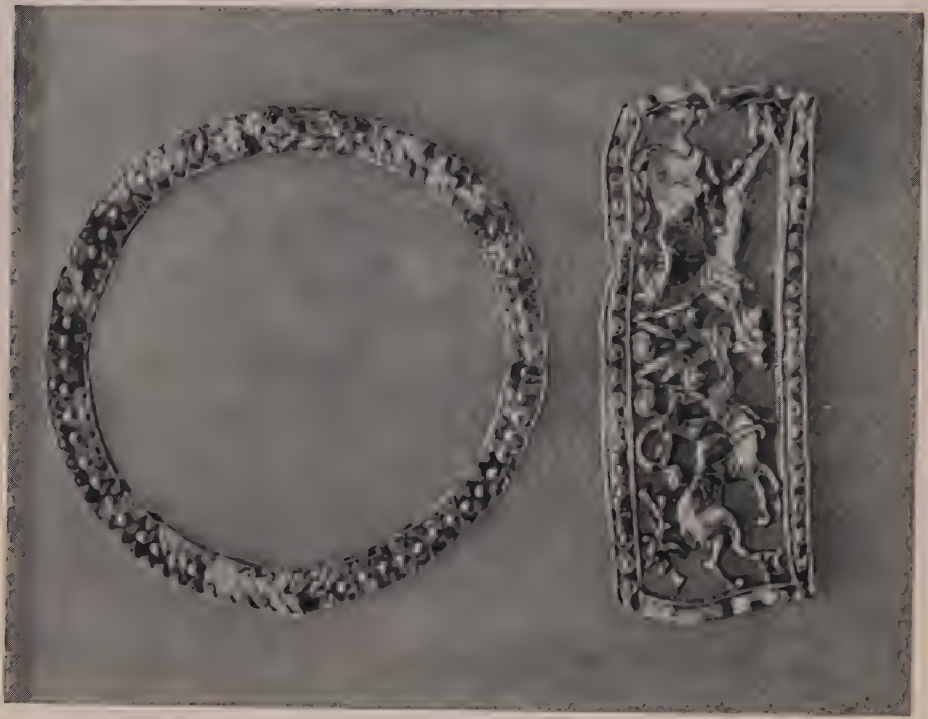


Fig. 8. Goldwork from Byblos.



Courtesy Griffith Inst.

Fig. 9. Goldwork from the treasure of Tutankhamun.

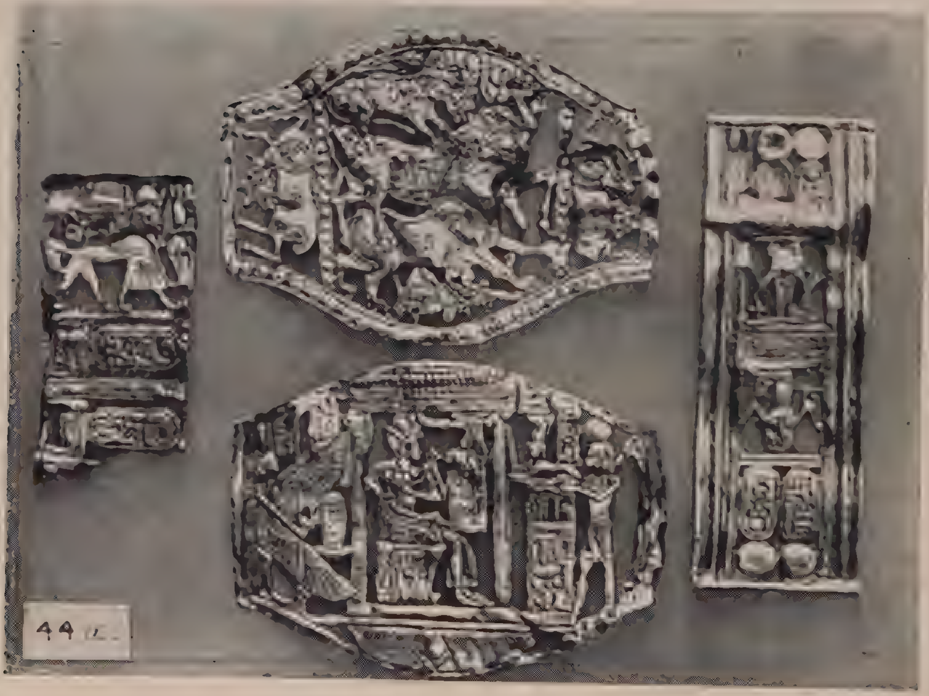


Fig. 10. Goldwork from the treasure of Tut

small, and yet upon the jewellery of the 7th century[1] appear dish-palmettes, introverted palmettes, torsade and dots, winged griffons, female-headed sphinxes, the proto-types of which are known to us chiefly from Phoenician ivories and not from any source in the orientalized Greek world. Perhaps much of this Phoenician inspiration came to Etruria upon ivory work and was sustained in that medium: a few pieces of ivory found in Etruscan tombs might indeed be imports from the Phoenician world[2] whilst others remain close to Egyptianised Phoenician sources. Of the spread of these orientalizing motifs upon gold work we know nothing for not a single piece of Phoenician jewellery has come to us from Etruria. From this it is pointless to argue inspiration from a different source for no piece of Rhodian or Ionian jewellery has been found there either, and Etruscan ivories show no trace of East Greek patterns. Furthermore, it is possible to argue that in the treasure of Aliseda in Spain we have an example of such Phoenician gold work as has not survived to us in Etruria, and that by nature it is near to the fountain-head of Etruscan jewellery.

The origin of the Aliseda treasure[3] discovered in 1920 in the province of Cácarès has been much discussed. It has been variously ascribed to Greek, Etruscan and Carthaginian workshops of dates ranging from the 12th to the 6th century B.C. The view taken by Garcia y Bellido[4] that the treasure consists of pieces ranging in date from the 5th to the 3rd century B.C. is untenable on stylistic grounds alone: neither Greece, Cyprus nor Etruria produced works of such complicated techniques between these dates and it cannot be thought of as an Iberian product at a date contemporary with the severe Hallstatt and Celtic toreutics.[2] The main piece of the treasure is the girdle, *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, p. 503, on which, besides winged griffons, dish- and introverted-palmettes, the main motif is a Herakles figure combating a rearing lion. He holds a short sword in one hand and raises the other to the lion's head. This motif is a particularly Phoenician one and, besides many examples which may be quoted, is to be found in an impressed terracotta figure from Cyprus, *Dept. of Antiquities Report*, No. 2, pl. 2, and the Praeneste bowl, Mühlstein, *op. cit.*, fig. 6. It occurs differently in Etruscan art, in which Herakles is accosted by two lions, i.e. on the strongly orientalizing breastplate, Grifi, *Monumenti di Caere Antica*, tav. III. All types of palmettes in the design of Aliseda jewellery belong to the Phoenician sphere and, despite the lack of similar pieces from the East Mediterranean, minute comparisons with such bits of jewellery as have survived in Phoenicia and at Carthage can leave little doubt as to a Phoenician origin.[1]

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[1] The earliest Etruscan jewellery is that of Vetulonia, Cairo, in Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, I, II, perhaps all the work of one N. Etruscan school. See also Praeneste bracelets, *B.M. Cat. Jew.* 1358 and 1359, and Marshall's remarks on them.

[2] The ivories from the Bernardini Tomb, Curtis, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* III, pl. 35, Nos. 1–15, are perhaps imports, and the ivory plaques, *ibid* p. 47 ff., likely copies of imports.

[3] The treasure was originally published by Melida, *Bol. Español de Escurciones Cientificas*, No. 29, 1921, p. 26 ff. For convenience we shall refer to Melida's shorter article *Arch. Anz.* 1928, p. 497 ff.

[4] Garcia y Bellido, *Fenicios y Cartaginesas en Occidente*, Madrid 1953, p. 230; but see Freijero's recent analysis, *Archivo Español de Arqueología* XXIX (1956), pp. 1 ff.

But the significance of this famous treasure would be greatly enhanced if means could be found to suggest its date on less flimsy grounds than those of gold work alone. Unfortunately the conditions of its discovery have never been recorded beyond the fact that all pieces were found in the same digging operations. Besides the gold, only a jug of clear dark bottle-green glass, smashed on discovery, improperly restored and never subjected to any chemical analysis, provides a subject of enquiry.[2] But it is of the greatest significance in the history of glass in that it was ground into shape with a lathe, and not moulded with a sand-core or blown. Its piriform shape—Pl. VIII, fig. 3, shows the jug in profile—with a ridge dividing body and neck is distinctively Phoenician and occurs in the bichrome and red slip wares of Cyprus in the 8th century, in the Lebanon, and in the Punic world.[3] Though common at Carthage, it is rare in the earliest graves and disappears before the 6th century. But the shape is best known in a series of bronze and silver jugs found in Cyprus, Etruria and Spain and declared Phoenician not only on account of this shape but also because of the palmette attachment at the joining of handle and body, and generally agreed to be of the 7th century.[4]

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[1] The palmettes employed on the Aliseda ear-pendants are similar to those of the handle attachments on the silver jugs, see below note (3). For the lotus with drooping stamens compare the Tharros diadem, Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and Cyprus* II, fig. 237, and the Cagliari diadem Taramelli *Guido al Museo di C.* p. 72. Bracelets with lotus finials Woolley, *J.H.S.* LVII fig. 23 (Al Mina 8th c.) and an example in Valetta Museum, Mayr, *Aus den phönischen Nekropolen von Malta*, pl. 2. For the pendants *Arch. Anz.* 1928 Abb 4, cp. Delattre, *Nécropole Punique de Douïmès* 1893–1894 p. 25, fig. 47 and *Coll. de Clerq*, *Bijoux*, pl. XV (disc and crescent, a non-Etruscan type), *Bull. Arch. Sardo* IV pl. 1, *Handbook of Hispanic Soc.* R3282 (purse-shaped pendants Tharros and Carmona). Pod-shaped pendants with tube-like suspension rings as on the Aliseda necklace are found at Cumae (in silver) Gabrici, *Cuma*, *M.A. XII*, p. 74, Fig. 4, found here and elsewhere at Cumae with Egyptianising imports in 7th c. context. These cannot be earlier than identical examples Delattre *ibid.*, Fig. 27 and Gauckler *op. cit.*, Tomb 228, from two early 7th c.—if not earlier—tomb groups at Carthage. The suspension tubes of the Aliseda and Cumae pendants are identical with those found at Carthage on various classes of jewellery, *e.g.* the inscribed Idamelek pendant Delattre *ibid.*, Fig. 29.

[2] The vessel has often been illustrated, but see *Arch. Anz.* 1928, p. 507.

[3] Cintas, *Céramique Punique* (Klincksieck Paris 1950), pp. 113 ff.

[4] Space does not permit a full bibliography of these jugs, but cp. Cesnola, *Atlas III*, pl. XXIX, 12; Densmore Curtis, *op. cit.*, pl. 29, 2 and 3. (Bernardini Tomb). Other examples come from Vetulonia, Populonia and Cumae. For the four Spanish examples, one of which has the head of an oriental lion, *Arch. Español Arq.* 1953, p. 1.

But the fact that no further examples are known in glass need not discourage us from taking into account several considerations which point to an early 7th century date for the Aliseda jug. In the first place, the fact that two other materials, alabaster and rock-crystal, can be similarly shaped by grinding widens the scope of analogy. The nearest parallel to the Aliseda jug in material, although of more refined shape, is a glass vessel from Giardine Margherita, the Etruscan necropolis east of Bologna, and obviously owes much to the technique of Egyptian alabaster working.[1] The vase (Pl. VIII, fig. 4)[2] was found in a grave with an Attic 6th century vase and a large volute krater, but it might already have been old when buried as two small phials of similar green glass come from the Certosa di Bologna in a 7th century context.[3]

Close in fabric to the Aliseda jug are two glass alabastra from Nimrud in the British Museum[4], one of which bears the name of Sargon II (721–704), and a piece of a similar glass alabastron should be noted from the Treasury at Sanam in Nubia of XXVth Dynasty date.[5] From the same country come two precise parallels in quartzite to the Aliseda jug, from the tomb of Queen Khenisa, the wife of Piankhy of the XXVth Dynasty. She was buried in the reign of Taharqa, 690–664 B.C.[6] The more complete of the two examples (Pl. VIII, fig. 5) bears a palmette handle attachment exactly like that of the silver jugs and a hieroglyphic inscription arranged similarly to that of the Aliseda jug.[7] An alabaster jug of this form comes from a similarly dated context at Assur.[8]

Because of what we know from the ivories of the artistic intercourse between Assyria and Phoenicia the presence of such a shape at Assur need not surprise us, but its presence in the tomb of an Ethiopian Queen can only be explained by the fact that at least King Shabaka of the XXVth (Ethiopian) Dynasty had relations with Assyria: his seal has been found in the archives at Nineveh and clay roundels bearing his name at Koujoundjik.[1]

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[1] Particularly the channelling at the base of the handle. The double band round the neck, cp. von Bissing, *Cat. Gen. Caire Steingefässe* 18360. The form of the body is not far removed from *ibid* 18379.

[2] The vase is mentioned by Fossing, *Glass before glass-blowing*. p. 68, and an account of it is given, Ducati, *Storia di Bologna*, p. 205 ff., and Fig. 91. It seems clear that Fossing never examined it for technically it does not belong to the sand-core class he is describing on that page. For the tomb, see von Duhn, *Atti e Mem.*, vol. VIII, 1820, p. 1 ff. The vases published Pellegrini, *I Vasi Greci dipinti delle necropoli felsine*, Nos. 5, 33, 71, 134, 109, 808 and *C. V. A. Bologna*, II. I am grateful to D. B. Harden for help concerning this vase, and to the Museo Civico di Bologna.

[3] *Monumenti Antichi*, V. Col. 285, pls. 14 and 17.

[4] Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, Abb. 22 and pp. 102, 292, 631.

[5] *L.A.A.A.* IX, p. 120, LVI, No. 12.

[6] Dows Dunham, *El Kurru, The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, vol. I, pl. 39. The jugs in the Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston, and I am grateful to Mr. Dows Dunham for photographs of them.

[7] It is not proposed to treat of the Aliseda hieroglyphs here, but it may be stated that, although they are fragmentary, they are not nonsensical as has been said, cp. Ebert, *Reallexicon*, p. 101: nor is the date proposed by Carter in Melida, *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, p. 508 of 4th to 2nd c. defensible.

[8] Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur*, Taf. 12 b. Top right.

But further than this an interesting problem is set by the occurrence of bag-shaped alabastra with flaring necks and lug handles in the tomb of Queen Khenisa (Pl. VIII, fig. 6). Alabaster vessels of this and other unusual Egyptian forms occur at Assur[2] where some are said by von Bissing to be of non-Egyptian material, and an alabastron of this bag-shape found at Nimrud and bearing pseudo-hieroglyphs is thought by Professor Mallowan to be Phoenician.[3] One of the Assur vessels[4] which copies the Phoenician amphora form is super-inscribed with cuneiform letters stating that it was part of the booty taken by Assar-Haddon (680–669) from the palace of Abdmelek, King of Sidon, a source already suggested by Froehner for the Sargon glass vases. The occurrence of these vases in Cyprus[5] where one bears the cuneiform name of Sargon II is interesting as there also occurs there a magnificent copy in ground glass (Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, 5065), and a set of copies in rock-crystal, one of which has a lid decorated with granules and soldered wire (*ibid*, 3598–3600). These vessels must surely be earlier than 6th century when this shape of alabastron was superseded throughout the Mediterranean by the disc-topped variety familiar to classical archaeologists. The lower part survives of a narrow alabastron from Phoenicia, of thick dark green glass. Johns who found it in a chambered tomb at Athlit[6] associates it with a 5th c. burial, but it may be earlier. Unfortunately too little remains to permit a reconstruction of the mouth, but the fabric clearly bears the marks of grinding.

All this does not lead to an insistence that even some of these alabaster vessels were Phoenician products (although Andrae and von Bissing have suggested so[7]), but is enough to demonstrate a close link between alabaster and glass working and the possibility that Phoenicians were engaged in making luxury copies of these vessels and trading them. All the evidence points to the activity of this trade in the early 7th century, and even without the well-dated analogies from Queen Khenisa's tomb, to this date for the Alise treasure.

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[1] Cf. Hall, *B.M. Cat. Engraved Gems*, 2775–2779. These clay impressions also found at Carthage, cf. Vercoutter, *Les Objets Egyptians Trouvés a Carthage*, p. 263, and Vives Escudero, *Estudio de Arqueologia Cartaginesa*, Fig. 84, (a glazed shell with cartouche).

[2] von Bissing, "Aegyptische und aegyptisierende Alabastergefasse," in *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie* 12, p. 140 ff.

[3] *Iraq*, XVI, Part II, p. 125, and pl. XXVI.

[4] von Bissing, *op. cit.*, p. 157, and Abb. 8, a, b. The vessel according to its Egyptian inscription is thought to be 9th c. in origin.

[5] *S.C.E.*, Amathus, Grave 2, pl. 6, No. 2: von Bissing, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[6] Johns, *Q.D.A.P.* II. p. 81, from Tomb L/21 B. Chamber D also contained Iron Age sherds associated with an earlier 5th c. burial from which it is possible the glass also came.

[7] Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Ivory pieces and faïence plaques depicting Syrians have been found at Assur, but there is also evidence that alabastra were manufactured at Babylon at a later date.

Granulation is used for various effects upon the Aliseda treasure, but in the diadem, *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, Abb. I, in particular, it serves to outline small cups edged with applique wire which formerly held settings. When discussing both goldwork and the Phoenicians all statements must be tentative and it may perhaps be suggested that this combination of wire and granules is the particular Phoenician contribution to the goldwork of the early 7th century, and that sometimes these wires served as settings for stones or paste as in the Evans ear-ring. The oldest example of this technique comes from Byblos and is of XIIth Dynasty date.[1] Recently published goldwork from Byblos[2] dates to the mid-2nd millennium and provides us with innumerable examples of fine granulation, appliqué wire, and wire and granule cups, lozenges and petals which formerly held a deep blue or brown paste (Pl. IX, fig. 7). Granulation is used to outline figures and a variation is made by twisting the wire into a guilloche before soldering it on to the foil (Pl. IX, fig. 8). That these techniques are particularly Syrian or Phoenician might be suggested from the evidence of Egyptian goldwork on which the combination of them was unknown before the mid-XVIIIth Dynasty when the Syrian motifs mentioned above come flooding into Egyptian art. Syrian scenes with snake-granulation occur in the treasure of Tutankhamun, and Pl. X, fig. 9 illustrates such a scene from an inlaid box on which the same daisies occur as on the Byblos axe-foils. A vivid contrast in style and technique is shown by foils from boxes juxtaposed on Pl. X, fig. 10, where in a framework of daisies both a lion and a leopard attack a bull whilst two goats, unconcerned with the violence, sniff flowers. The other panels are decorated in a formal Egyptian manner with engraving and slight repoussé. Again on the dagger handles of Tutankhamun can be seen bands of cloisonné work and non-Syrian technique. Torsades and guilloches are widely used and there can be little doubt that Syrian jewellers were employed in doing piece-work for the King's funerary suite.[1]

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[1] Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, p. 411, and *Syria*, 1923, p. 311, Fig. I. A design of granulated petal-forms can also be seen on the silver dish, Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen* in *Sendschirli* V, p. 112, taf. 55.

[2] M. Dunand, *Byblos II, Atlas*, from which figs. 7 and 8 are taken. The pieces are in Beirut National Museum and bear ample traces of inlay. Even the small daisies were sometimes inlaid. Unfortunately at the time of writing the text of *Byblos II* is not available to me. A similar piece of goldwork comes from inside a 16th c. B.C. Cypriote milk bowl, Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1937, pl. XVI, fig. 4.

The first millennium, however, has provided only scattered examples of wire and inlay from Phoenicia, most of the examples later than 7th century[2], but Reichel has suggested the Phoenician origin of this " Draht und Einlage " technique in his discussion of four gold plates from Eleusis (part of a head-band) with petals of applique wire edged with granules. The petals are set with amber and Dr. Segall says of it[3] " not only is it richer in granulation than any piece of the 7th century group . . . but recalls the Phoenician necklace of gold and amber described by Homer, *Od*, XV, 460." Ear-rings in a similar technique have come from a geometric grave at Eleusis[4] containing small faïence figurines of pseudo-Egyptian type, and Reichel probably rightly regards these and the headband as an 8th century revival of an old craft.[5]

Some of the pendant beads of the Aliseda treasure, *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, Abb. 4, are solidly covered with granulation except for areas outlined with wire in the shape of fans. It is a complicated form of decoration and is exactly parallelled in beads from two necklaces, *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, 1450 and 1456, which although of unknown Italian provenience are made up with blue eye-beads and glass face-pendants well known in Phoenician sites. They are regarded by Marshall as early 7th century work. Although granulation is common enough on the earliest Etruscan jewellery from Vetulonia, its use with applied wire does not become common in Etruria until the late

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[1] Penelope Fox, *Treasure of Tutankhamun*, pl. 37, for dagger of alternating cloisonné and granulated scenes; Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, vol. I, pl. LXIII, 3rd and 4th objects from the right, for granulation and inlay: *ibid.* pl. LXVII, for wire and granules. The guilloche of many strands of plaited wire common on the dagger hilts of Tutankhamun has no Syrian precise parallel, but enters Egypt at the time of Syrian motifs as can be seen on the two bracelets of Ramses II, Vernier, *op. cit.*, 52575 and 52576, and pl. XVIII; and the central bosses from the dishes of the Tell Basta treasure (Sety II), Vernier, *op. cit.*, pl. CVI, and *Bull. Met. Mus. Art.*, Oct. 1949, p. 63. I am grateful to the Griffith Institute for permission to publish figs. 9 and 10, from the Carter archives.

[2] Stray examples come from Atchana and other sites on the Phoenician cost: inlaid oudjat amulets outlined in wire and granules from Tortosa and Amrit, de Ridder, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1418–1422.

[3] Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief*, 1952, p. 35, and photograph 33. Segall, *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. XLI, p. 45.

[4] *Ephemeris Archaiologiké*, 1898, p. 106, and pl. 6, No. 6; cp. *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, 1240.

[5] This headband from Eleusis can be compared directly only with a simpler head band (or necklace) with pendant tubes from Geometric Graves at Spata *Archaiologikon Deltion* VI (1920–21) pl. 10 paratemata. This band is made up of five trapezium plaques four of which bear lozenges outlined in applied wire and, according to the Greek description, formerly inlaid. The published photograph is too indistinct to show if there is plaited wire or granulation on the plaques.

7th century.[1] Most of the examples were dated coming from contexts later than the ornaments of the Berberini Tomb where applied wire is also employed. The technique thus persists over a period during which such small Phoenician ornaments as the Evans ear-ring might have introduced the popularity of the style.

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[1] Scenes of free granulation used on the early Vetulonian fibulae (cf. Karo, *op. cit.*), although in some sense orientalizing, find their only parallel in ancient goldwork on the Tutankhamun daggers already quoted. For examples of granules and wire, see Mühlstein, *op. cit.*, fibula 77; the 6th c. pendants with granulation and appliqué torsades of gold wire, B.M. Cat. Jewellery, 1382, and the pendant with bosses, granules and wire, 1309. The wire-spirallel fibula, 1382, is close in technique to a pendant found at Atchana, Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 273, (12th c.), whilst the granulation and cut-foil treatment of 1382 is reminiscent of the Aliseda diadem. A few examples of wire and inlay come from Crete, *e.g.* the little fly, 1239, and the Khaniale Tekke, *B.S.A.* XLIX, 1954, p. 217 ff., and pl. 27., of 8th and 9th centuries. Another striking example of use of wire and granule is the B.M. Girgenti bowl, which might even come from a Sicel tomb. Significantly enough, a tube of Electrum with applied decoration of plaited wire came from the same tomb as a Phoenician silver jug, Pelegini, *Tombe Archaiche Greche di Cuma*, p. 241, Fig. 17.

THE JEWISH REVOLT AGAINST THE ROMANS (66 - 73) IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS[1]

By CECIL ROTH

This paper has as its point of departure my positive identification on historical grounds of the Teacher of Righteousness of the Dead Sea Scrolls with the leader of the Zealot sect, which controlled part of the west shore of the Dead Sea in the first century of the Christian era—that is to say, either Menahem ben Judah, the military chieftain and religious teacher assassinated in Jerusalem in the autumn of A.D. 66; or else (as now seems to me more probable) his nephew and successor Eleazar ben Jair, who afterwards led the remnant of the former's followers back to their stronghold at Masadah. It is unnecessary to repeat here the arguments that render this identification as certain as any historical identification of this sort can be[2]. I need only repeat that if it is not admitted, there must have existed in the year 67 both at Qumran and at Masadah, also on the west shore of the Dead Sea, two separate militant sects, each ferociously opposed both to the Romans and to the central revolutionary government in Jerusalem, and each venerating the personality of a Teacher (in its eyes a Teacher of Righteousness) who at the culminating point of his experience had been violently or murderously attacked by a Priest (in its eyes a Wicked Priest) about the time of the Day of Atonement, and had a former associate, then either absent or dead, named Absalom. This argument is unanswerable. Moreover, if this solution is accepted, and the Dead Sea sect identified as seems inevitable with the militant Zealots of Masadah, the historical background of this newly-found literature swings into position smoothly and begins to make sense as a whole: no significant difficulties remain except those which can be readily explained on the assumption (which scarcely needs demonstration) that Josephus wrote from a pro-Roman standpoint, hated the fighters for Jewish independence, and treated in the main only of matters which would interest non-Jewish readers and in a fashion which they would understand. My colleague Professor Driver has shown how this period is the only one that can reconcile also the archaeological, philological and literary requirements demanded by the documents. I do not see how it is possible for the thesis to be contested, except by those who have nailed their colours to the mast and will defend them to the last breath[1].

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[1] Paper read before the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, on November 27th, 1957.

[2] My evidence and references will be found in a book now in the press. Further confirmation of my thesis is constantly accumulating. Professor Millar Burrows points out that Qumran provides no Hebrew or Aramaic text corresponding to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which is marked by an unusually sympathetic attitude towards Gentiles (*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 179). This certainly suggests Zealot rather than Essene occupation. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 278: "In recent discussions of the Dead Sea Scrolls the conviction of the absolute sovereignty of God is seen more and more to be basic for the sect."

My identification was made by purely historical criteria, and depends on the historical sources, with which it is in full agreement. The corollary is, that the Dead Sea literature may now be called into service to illustrate what we know about the history of the period. Thus we now have, after nineteen hundred years, an independent body of evidence to supplement and correct the historical account of the great War against Rome, hitherto known to us only from the biased pages of Flavius Josephus. For the moment, it is possible only to give a tentative survey, which must inevitably be corrected and expanded as further sources are published and as those already known are studied further.

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[1] The arguments that have been marshalled against the identification are inconsistent. I have been informed (Cross, Dupont-Sommer) that Qumran and the Zealot-controlled area from Masadah to Engedi are separated by almost insuperable natural obstacles. But these scholars fail to realize that this argument invalidates also their own identification of the Qumran sect with the Essenes, which wholly depends on the passage from Pliny stating that the latter had their centre in the neighbourhood of Engedi: indeed, Allegro suggested (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 87) that the Masadah Zealots were in control of Qumran at the time of its capture by the Romans. As I shew elsewhere, Pliny is clearly speaking of a group which continued its idyllic existence undisturbed well after the Fall of Jerusalem. Communication by water up the Dead Sea is not to be ruled out of the question, in any case: it is noteworthy that two drawings of ships have been found in the course of recent excavations at Masadah. Rowley (*Qumran, the Essenes, and the Zealots*, in Eissfeldt *Festschrift*, 1958) states that the demarcation between the Jewish and Roman occupations of Qumran is " drawn with precision in the year A.D. 68 by a series of Jewish coins running down to that year, and a number of Roman coins from that year to A.D. 73 ". In fact, the reference that he gives (*Revue Biblique* lxiii. 567) shews for this alleged Roman stratum only three coins—Caesarea 67/8, Dora 67/8, and Tyre 53. The discovery of coins with the counter-mark of the Tenth Legion at Qumran has been adduced as decisive proof that the site was occupied by that unit when it accompanied Vespasian from Caesarea down the Jordan Valley to Jericho and thence to the Dead Sea (De Vaux in *The Listener*, June 19 1958, and elsewhere). As a matter of fact, the Tenth Legion was engaged at this time in mopping-up operations in Transjordan, and these coins presumably belong to the subsequent period when it constituted the Army of Occupation in southern Palestine. In any case, are we to assume that Zealot raiding-parties never brought coins back after their encounters with Roman troops ? Against my identification of Absalom it has been argued (by A. Dupont-Sommer in *Évidences*, 1957, n. 67; P. Winter in *Manchester Guardian* for June 1 1957; J. C. G. Greig in *The Listener* for July 4 1957) that according to Josephus he was a supporter, not opponent, of Menahem: but it is self-evident that indifference at a time of crisis is a legitimate cause for blaming not enemies, but allies. Dr. Winter has also suggested that, the Teacher of Righteousness being himself a Priest, my argument collapses. On the contrary, it would be reinforced, as will be seen below: though indeed the evidence that he was a priest is slender and dubious.

The beginnings of the Revolt against Rome in A.D. 66 go back, in a sense, to the period of the Roman conquest, a century and a quarter before. It is obvious that this disaster to the Jewish people must have given rise to great searchings of the heart, and I suppose that it was due to this that the various sects in Judaism now began to flourish. Formerly, it had been possible to ascribe a national disaster, whether during the First Temple or at the period of the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, to the sin of the people (or a great part of them) in forsaking God: when they repented, God redeemed them. But this naïve philosophy was no longer valid. Backsliding was now rare among the Jews of Palestine; the inroads of paganism had been stemmed; yet the Roman rule was more oppressive than that of any other enemy in history. Obviously, the reason must be, not that the people did not serve God, but that they did not serve God aright: when they did so, He would save them. It was now therefore that Jewish sects began to proliferate—more, probably, than those of which we are specifically informed in the contemporary sources. Among them were the Zealots: and, fragments of many copies of the so-called Damascus Covenant (the " Zadokite Fragment ") having been found in the Caves at Qumran, it is certain that a very close connexion existed between the Qumran Zealots and the body which produced this literature. The course of events seems to be something as follows[1]:

In 4 B.C., Judah the Galilaean, of Gamala, the son of that patriot leader Hezekiah who had been hunted down and killed by Herod, raised the standard of revolt in Galilee, shortly after the tyrant's death: here he seized Sepphoris, using the armoury in the fortress there to equip his followers, and to establish his ascendancy over the other insurgent groups in the neighbourhood. However, the stronghold was recaptured by the Romans without great difficulty. Although many of the inhabitants perished or were enslaved, Judah the Galilaean escaped with some of his most devoted followers. There is reason to believe (I do not wish to put it more strongly) that he made his way to Damascus, which was nearer to Sepphoris than Jerusalem, and where he could readily find refuge among the teeming Jewish population. From the historical calendar of this period, *Megillath Ta'anith*, it appears that an unsuccessful attempt was made to waylay the party, their escape giving rise to an annual celebration which was long observed.

Arrived in Damascus, Judah and his followers anxiously pondered over the problem, of why they had failed: for how was it possible for God to abandon His children and deliver them into the hands of their oppressors once again? The answer could only be, because they did not serve God aright. Judah had come to believe that even the Pharisees (דורשי חלקות or " Makers of Smooth Interpretations ", as his group dubbed them) were lax in their observance of various prescriptions of the Torah, especially in connexion with the marriage-laws: this must be remedied, before God would look on them with favour. Moreover, the group had now become cognizant of the Book of Jubilees, with its somewhat bizarre calendrical regulations, and persuaded themselves that this was the Calendar prescribed in the Pentateuch: with the corollary that the generality of the Jews were year after year observing their principal religious solemnities on the wrong day, and not on that which God had appointed. The little group of refugees became convinced that herein they had discovered the reason for their disaster and the secret for victory in the future. This was the origin of the Damascus Covenant which they now entered into, binding themselves to observe in every detail this strict new code. A fundamental doctrine of the new Sect, which made it so important politically, was that it was heinous for Jews to acknowledge any alien authority, God Himself being their only Lord: hence any acceptance of Roman sovereignty, direct or indirect, was sinful.

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[1] For my evidences, see my book referred to above. But I do not wish to be positive about this: my hypothetical reconstruction of the earlier history of the Dead Sea sect does not affect my assured interpretation of the events of A.D. 66.

After a while, Judah and his followers returned from Damascus to Judaea: here they took possession of the abandoned " monastery " buildings at what is now Qumran, occupied probably by a body of Essenes before they were ruined in the earthquake of 31 B.C. (The long interval of abandonment makes it obvious that the second occupants were not members of the same group as the first, who would naturally have come back forthwith.) They remained inactive so long as some sort of Jewish puppet-monarchy continued in being. In A.D. 6, shortly after the deposition of Archelaus from the throne of Judaea, the procurator Quirinius organized the levy of a poll-tax on the population. Judah thereupon again rose in revolt, proclaiming that the payment of this, being a recognition of the Roman rule, was therefore a mortal sin. He was hunted down by the Romans and killed.[1] The same was the fate, some forty years later, of his two elder sons, Jacob and Simon, who were crucified by the apostate Procurator Tiberius Julius Alexander, Philo's nephew. The leadership of the sect now devolved on their brother, Menahem, who for a brief while played a role of first importance in Jewish history. This brings us to the period of the great Revolt against Rome in A.D. 66, as it appears in the light of the Qumran literature.

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[1] Possibly, the sequence of events may have been slightly different from that suggested here, Judah returning from Damascus to head the revolt against the poll tax, and his followers seeking refuge in the abandoned Qumran buildings after his death: the historical and archaeological evidences are satisfied equally by this, perhaps slightly more logical, sequence.

At the outset of the revolt, in the late summer, Menahem and his intimate associates (ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς γνωρίμους—can this curious phrase imply his fellow-votaries?) carried out a *coup de main* on the great Herodian palace-fortress of Masadah, which they captured, together with the vast quantities of stores and arms concentrated there. The choice of this objective becomes easier to understand if the assailants already had their base of operations in the vicinity, at Qumran, and it is conceivable that the onslaught was made from the sea. Equipping his followers from the armoury here (just as his father had done a generation before when he seized Sepphoris) Menahem made his way to join the patriot forces who were fighting under Eleazar ben Hananiah, Captain of the Temple, against the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. Others of the partisan leaders, who according to Josephus had for some time past kept Judaea in a perpetual state of disorder, certainly did the same: but by virtue of the cohesion and equipment of his forces Menahem took the command and succeeded in capturing the fortress of Antonia. The Roman garrison now retired to the Herodian palace. Josephus describes admiringly the ability and stratagems of the defenders. Nevertheless, after a short while the troops of Agrippa and the handful of loyalists with them realized that the situation was hopeless and surrendered, while the Roman legionaries retired as a last resort to three bastions in the city wall, leaving their camp to be pillaged. All Jerusalem was now under the control of the patriot forces. This remarkable success enormously enhanced Menahem's reputation, and he now stood out as the leader of the revolt.

Inevitably, this brought him into conflict with the moderate group who had formerly been in control, but now found themselves thrust aside. The initiative had originally been taken by the priestly element, the " natural " leaders of the country in the Second Temple period and the only stable authority allowed to remain during the period of Roman rule, however much their influence had been curtailed. The first open step for the repudiation of allegiance to Rome had indeed been instigated by Eleazar ben Hananiah, son of a former High Priest as well as Captain of the Temple, when he proposed the suspension of the traditional daily sacrifice on behalf of the Emperor. He moreover was at the outset in command of the only disciplined force in the city, and had naturally taken the initiative in the original military operations. It is obvious that what he and his associates intended was to re-establish the " traditional " system of government, under the High Priest and the Temple Priesthood. A careful reading of the pages of Josephus makes all this plain; and makes plain too the fact that this was his own ideal, and that he as a priest expected to be among the beneficiaries.

Menahem's victory, and the prestige that accrued to him as a result, undermined this prospect. There is some evidence that he was himself a priest (*kōhen*). Josephus indeed does not mention the fact, but he does so it seems only when an officiating priest was in question, sometimes recording his own name for example without the title. He states on the other hand that Eleazar and his associates considered Menahem to be " much below themselves ", which may possibly imply that he was a *kohen hediot* (ἰδιώτης) or Priest Commoner, as opposed to the aristocratic families from whom the High Priest was hitherto chosen. On the other hand, in two passages, neither of them of unimpeachable authority, the Teacher of Righteousness is apparently qualified as a Priest, though possibly this implies here merely a spiritual leader. In either case, it is obvious that, whether priest or no, Menahem belonged to a lower social stratum than the priestly aristocrats who had led the Revolt in its earlier stages, and that they bitterly resented the prestige that he had achieved and his newly acquired prominence in public affairs: it is the sort of development that not infrequently occurs in revolutions at this stage.

The situation in Jerusalem was complicated by another issue, as it seems. Here we are on more dubious ground, and one can only present in a very tentative fashion an outline of the picture that begins to emerge from our documents. As we have seen, one of the dogmas of the Qumran Sect was apparently that the " orthodox " religious calendar followed by the majority of Jews was erroneous, and that the salvation of the Jewish people from the horrors of foreign oppression was not to be expected until and unless they adopted a revised calendar—i.e., that prescribed in the Book of Jubilees, several copies of which figure in the Qumran book-deposit. This may seem fantastic. But if the accepted calendar was erroneous, it logically followed that all the divinely-prescribed Holydays were being celebrated in the Temple and Synagogue on the wrong days, the correct days being desecrated. This applied in particular to the Day of Atonement, in connection with which God had promised (Leviticus xvi, 30) to atone " on this day " for all sins. If the prescribed Temple ceremonials were not carried out " on this day ", therefore, the divine pardon was not achieved, and the Jewish people went forward from year to year with an accumulated burden of unatoned sin, making their political salvation impossible. This is presumably the reason for the enormous importance attached to the " Time of the Fast " and so on in the Damascus Covenant and the rest of the Dead Sea literature.

Now, Menahem's series of triumphs over the Roman forces took place about the time of the Day of Atonement. Josephus informs us that Herod's palace was captured on the sixth day of the month Gorpiaeus, which is generally assumed to be used in his writings as the equivalent of the Hebrew month Ellul. (The Day of Atonement falls on the tenth of the next month, Tishri.) Professor S. Zeitlin is of the opinion that the historian is using the Tyrian calendar, and calculates the equivalent as Tishri 3rd, though he unaccountably insists that it was not in the year 66 but 65, when 6 Gorpiaeus would have been Tishri 14th. The exact equivalent however is unimportant, as we do not know precisely how the Qumran-Zealot calendar differed from the one generally in use: since the difference probably depended on intercalation, it could be anything between a day and a month, as is the case sometimes with the Karaite and Samaritan calendars today. It appears probable however that Menahem determined to crown and to ensure his triumph by making a state appearance in the Temple " to prostrate himself " on the Day of Atonement according to the Zealot reckoning. Not merely, I conjecture, to prostrate himself, but either to carry out himself as Priest the traditional solemnities as prescribed by the Bible on the proper day at last: or (if he was not a priest) to have them carried out by one of his followers who was—*e.g.*, his kinsman and second-in-command, Eleazar ben Jair, who though descended from Judah the Galilaean may have been a *kōhen* through the male line.

In the eyes of the priesthood in office, this would have been on the one hand offensive and sacrilegious, on the other hand revolutionary: for it was the High Priest who officiated in the Temple on the Day of Atonement, and the High Priest was the traditional head of the Jewish state. Hence Menahem's action menaced as well as horrified them. It was easy enough for them however to arouse the resentment of the people as a whole against this act of apparent sacrilege. As Josephus says, when Eleazar the Temple Captain threw himself upon Menahem, the rest of the people began to pelt the latter with stones—the fate of the false prophet. We can understand on the basis of what has been said above why they suddenly turned against the popular hero in this fashion: and also why this should have taken place in the sacred precincts. It appears that at one moment Menahem and his followers had the upper hand, as the timid Priest Josephus took refuge in the Inner Court. Ultimately however the Zealot intruders were overcome; some of them were killed, and the rest implacably hunted down by their enemies. Menahem himself fled to the Ophel, the East Hill south of the Temple area, in the hope of making a stand.

All hope was not yet lost for him, for he was not the only partisan leader now fighting in Jerusalem. Josephus informs us (*B.J.* ii, 264–5) that in the period immediately before the Revolt Judaea had almost lapsed into anarchy, rebel chiefs setting themselves up all over the country and carrying out ferocious attacks on the Romans and Roman sympathizers. It is self-evident that when hostilities broke out in Jerusalem such leaders would have led their forces to join in the military operations there, as Menahem did. Josephus mentions some who were active in the guerilla warfare against the Romans at this period. Two of them especially were to play a very prominent role in the history of the following years: Simon bar Giora and Eleazar ben Simon. Both of these irreconcilable faction leaders presumably had an ideological and even religious basis for their policies: otherwise they are not likely to have persevered in their separatism, which in the end was to bring disaster on the Jewish people. Of Eleazar ben Simon, Josephus tells us that later he " formed his own faction " (*B.J.* v, 5): while Simon bar Giora (whose name " son of the Proselyte " suggests that he belonged to the depressed classes) was clearly what might be described as a " Social Revolutionary ", with a pronounced egalitarian programme, attacking the rich and freeing the slaves (*B.J.* iv, 508). It is to be presumed that each of these leaders preached his individual social-religious programme, the implementation of which, he was convinced, would secure the divine favour and thus ensure victory in the field. Another partisan leader who was in Jerusalem with his followers at this time was one Absalom, described by Josephus as the outstanding supporter of Menahem's tyranny (*B.J.* ii, 448), though not one of his actual lieutenants. At some stage during the anti-Zealot riots just described, Absalom was killed, being one of the most prominent victims of these disorders[1].

At his refuge on the Ophel, Menahem attempted to rally these potential sympathizers, all of whom belonged to the " democratic " wing, and might therefore have been expected to make common cause with him against the priestly junta. With their help perhaps he could even now have triumphed. But, apparently, they refused to accept his religious programme, and either turned against him or remained neutral. The authority for this is a highly obscure passage in the Habakkuk Commentary found at Qumran, which speaks of the Man of Lies. We are told of him in what appears to be a later addition to the Damascus Covenant (xx, 14–5) that he departed from some unspecified place together with the men of war: and the only person whom we know to have departed from the Qumran-Masadah area with a band of armed followers is Simon bar Giora, who was admitted there for a while in 67, but subsequently parted company. Hence we may tentatively identify the Man of Lies with him. The only other facts we know about him (for we should not assume that he is identical with the Preacher of Lies mentioned elsewhere in these documents) are that together with the " treacherous " he refused to accept the instruction of the Teacher of Righteousness (Habakkuk Commentary, ii, 1–2): and that at the critical point in the Teacher's life he publicly rejected the Torah, and was not opposed by the House of Absalom (ib. v, 11). We have seen above the reason for identifying the Man of Lies with Simon bar Giora; and it is remarkable that Simon bar Giora was in fact in Jerusalem, at the head of an independent body of followers, at the time of the attack on Menahem (Josephus, *B.J.* ii, 521).

The following picture therefore seems to emerge. Menahem, driven out of the Temple to Ophel, still counted as I have said on the support of the various partisan leaders belonging to the " democratic " wing. Simon bar Giora, however, one of the most prominent, turned against him: he had his own social-religious programme, and he refused to accept Menahem's extreme and wholly separatist religious doctrine. He joined the " treacherous ", in fact, refusing to believe the instruction of the Teacher of

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[1] This was certainly at an early stage in the disturbances, for Josephus depicts Menahem as alone and abandoned when he was dragged out to his death.

Righteousness, albeit it came from God; and thereby he publicly rejected the Torah, as the Habakkuk Commentary puts it. Even so, Menahem still had some possibility at least of escape, if only the followers of Absalom had continued their dead leader's policy and rallied to him. But they failed to do so: together with those associated with them (" the men of their counsel ") " they were silent[1] and stood aloof at the time of the suffering of the Teacher of Righteousness, and did not help him against the Man of Lies ". This sealed his fate. Menahem was surrounded, dragged out of his refuge, and cruelly put to death by his opponents[2].

Menahem's surviving followers, under his kinsman Eleazar ben Jair, now retired back to their almost impregnable stronghold of Masadah. The tragic events in Jerusalem in the autumn of 66 coloured henceforth their entire outlook. Menahem who had so long led and instructed them figured as their Teacher of Righteousness (unless it was his successor, who as I said shared his experience, to whom that title was given). Eleazar ben Hananiah, Captain of the Temple, who had engineered the attack upon them, for his own good and that of the priestly party, was the Wicked Priest; Simon bar Giora, who was near to their outlook yet turned against them, was it seems the Man of Lies. And they apparently found support and comfort in a verse of the Book of Micah (iv, 8) which, after telling how Israel was to be in travail from unmerciful enemies without and evil rulers within, prophesied how it was from Ophel of the Daughter of Zion that the righteous dominion of the People of God was to be renewed[3].

The attack of Menahem obviously had a far greater importance than would appear in Josephus' venomous and hurried account, and may indeed have been one of the turning-points in Jewish history. Had he triumphed, the Qumran religious doctrines, comprising the so-called Covenant of Damascus, would have been imposed on Jewish public life and have become at least for a time the normative standard of Judaism. If on the other hand the parties had now come together, a united front would have been presented to the outside world and the record of the great War against Rome would have been significantly different; though indeed it is unlikely that the final outcome would have been other than it was. As matters stood, it was a divided nation that faced the enemy onslaught. Not only were there the divisions in the patriot forces in Jerusalem which Josephus describes so bitterly. Apart from this, an important section of the best fighting strength of the nation, centred at Masadah but controlling a considerable area of the surrounding country, stood entirely aloof: considering the Priestly administration in Jerusalem as no less guilty before God than the Roman oppressors who were preparing to reconquer the land, refusing therefore to support it in any way, and failing to carry out any diversionary activity even when Jerusalem was under siege and seemed about to fall. For its tribulations were part of the divine pattern, merited punishment for its wrongdoing: and only after its capture and the disappearance of its sinful rulers would God manifest Himself to deliver the righteous remnant of His people at the fast-approaching End of Days.

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[1] Not " cut down ", though the Hebrew could equally well bear this interpretation, for the passage glosses the verse (Hab. i, 13) " Wherefore lookest thou on . . . *and holdest thy peace* when the wicked swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?".

[2] This reconstruction applies whether the Teacher of Righteousness of our literature was Menahem or his kinsman Eleazar. In the latter case, however, it is possible that the followers of Absalom defected not on this occasion but later, when Eleazar and Simon bar Giora quarrelled at Masadah. On the other hand, there is no evidence and little probability that Absalom's followers retained their individuality as a distinct body so long after his death. That Eleazar went to Jerusalem with Menahem and was with him at the time of the disorders in the Temple (and probably at Ophel) is evident from Josephus.

[3] This passage certainly engaged the attention of the Qumran exegetes, but the *pešer* is unfortunately not extant up to this point.

The Qumran literature apparently fills in a few gaps in Josephus' account of what happened to some of the personalities who were concerned in the early days of the Revolution of 66. After telling us of Eleazar ben Hananiah's part in these events, the historian goes on to describe how he then resumed military command and directed operations against the Roman forces who still held out in the three tower-fortresses, compelled their surrender, and then allowed them to be massacred, on a sabbath-day. When he received the capitulation of the legionaries, he obviously had the opportunity of laying his hands on vast quantities of booty, thus " taking the wealth of the Gentiles " in the words of the Habakkuk Commentary (viii, 13). Now, he disappears from view, unless he is identical with that Eleazar son of the High Priest Neus who after Cestius' disastrous defeat at Beth-Horon was entrusted together with Joshua ben Sappha with the government of Idumaea and the defence of the southern approaches to the capital. It is perhaps more likely that he would have preferred to remain in Jerusalem, where his key-position allowed him to exercise a vast influence. His enemies naturally charged him with abuses. Originally they had considered him one of their sympathizers, as having been " called in the name of truth " (Habakkuk Commentary viii, 8–9)—perhaps a reference to the fact that in repudiating allegiance to Rome he had adhered to the Zealot doctrine. Power however corrupted him: when he ruled Israel, he became proud, abandoned God, and shewed himself venal, enriching himself from the property of the Cities of Judah and allowing himself to be bribed, as a result of which he abandoned the laws of the Torah. He performed abominations in Jerusalem, defiled the Sanctuary, and stole from the poor—the usual catalogue of wrongdoing that would be anticipated in such circumstances. Possibly he sent a punitive expedition against the Qumran zealots: we are told in any case that he maltreated the poor and simple ones of Judah who carried out the Torah (ib. xii, 2–6).

Whatever the truth of these details, it is to be anticipated that a priestly aristocrat in a position such as his would have been one of the victims of the Reign of Terror which set in after the disaster in Galilee, when the cry was raised that the Revolution was in danger and summary executions were carried out among the former moderate leaders. Josephus does not indeed mention Eleazar's name in this connexion: but the Habakkuk Commentary seems to tell us specifically what may otherwise be assumed from our sources: for it states (xi, 4–15) that the Wicked Priest drank the cup of anger and was disgraced, elsewhere (ix, 9–11) that in retribution for the wrong committed against the Teacher of Righteousness, he was delivered into the hands of his enemies, who afflicted him with sufferings and made his soul bitter therewith; and finally (viii, 16–ix, 1–3) that he was " afflicted by the judgments of the wicked, who wrought in him the horrors of evil maladies and vengeances in the flesh of his body ". This corresponds closely with what Josephus tells us of the procedure of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which " having scourged and racked its prisoners, consigned them to the sword only when their bodies could no longer sustain such torture, using for the purpose mock trials and courts of justice " (*B.J.* iv, 329, 334). Even without this evidence, of course, it was to be presumed that the former Captain of the Temple and moderate revolutionary leader had been a victim of the extremists at this stage, as was for example his colleague Niger, also a member of the administration set up in the autumn of 66.

However, although this " wicked priest " was imprisoned and arraigned, we are not informed in either source that he was put to death, as Niger was (Josephus unintentionally proves, in his account of the treatment of his own family during the Siege, that the extremists were not so bloodthirsty as he implies). He survived as it seems to witness the capture of the city, when he fell into the hands of the Romans. They would not have been likely to overlook his responsibility for fomenting the revolt at the outset, whatever his subsequent record. The Psalm xxxvii *pešer* tells us in fact that the Wicked Priest received his ultimate retribution by being given into the hands of the " ruthless ones of the Gentiles " who wrought judgment on him[1].

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[1] " The ruthless ones of the Gentiles " seems to be a term regularly applied by the author to Roman judges: cf. below for its use in connection with the fate of a later Revolutionary leader, John of Gischala. On the other hand, " enemies " and " the wicked " are apparently used to designate opponents among the Jewish people. Since the Habakkuk commentary apparently knows only of the sufferings of the Wicked Priest at the hands of his " wicked " domestic enemies, whereas that on Psalm xxxvii speaks of his subsequent condemnation by the Gentiles, it would seem that this latter work is somewhat subsequent to the former in date, though it can be a question only of months. I must however state that I am not wholly convinced by the hypothetical reconstruction of the Psalm xxxvii fragment by which it is made to refer to the Teacher of Righteousness: though the amplification of . . . .ן הרשע to הכוהן הרשע seems to be unchallengeable.

The immediate cause for the triumph of the extremists in Jerusalem was the influx of refugees who streamed southwards, under John of Gischala, after Vespasian's victories in Galilee. It was easy for them to spread the conviction that the disaster had been due not to Roman invincibility but to the treachery of their commander, the historian Josephus, and that drastic steps should be taken forthwith to root out from the administration in Jerusalem all his former associates and other possible collaborationists. Thus, the Revolution entered on a more extreme stage, new personalities beginning to occupy the forefront of the scene.

In this connexion, I wish to call attention to another and completely different sequence of characters who figure in the Dead Sea literature, whose association with this period seems to be quite certain.

We may begin with the Last Priest (כוהן האחרון) who (we are told in the Hosea Commentary fragment) " put forth his hand to smite Ephraim "; and in the Psalm xxxvii commentary would be attacked by the Wicked Ones of Ephraim and Menasseh in the approaching time of trial. (" The Priest " only is mentioned here, but in the context the reference must certainly be to the same person.) We learn also in the Habakkuk Commentary how the Last Priests of Jerusalem (in the plural) gathered wealth from the booty of the Gentiles, which would be captured in the end by the armies of the Kittim—i.e., of the Romans.

In my historical innocence, I propose to make what must be regarded in these over-subtle days as the revolutionary suggestion that the writer in speaking of the Last Priest means precisely what he says—that is, the last High Priest who officiated in the Jerusalem Temple before its destruction by the Romans in A.D. 70: the Last Priests including also his colleagues and associates. It is absurd to look for any other explanation, all the more so since this one satisfactorily explains as none other does all the allusions in the text. The Last Priest is certainly not identical with the Wicked Priest, for he is spoken of without rancour, if indeed without excessive enthusiasm: he must clearly have been in the eyes of the Qumran sect, quick as they were to declare or to suspect enmity, a neutral, or a near-ally[1]. I must emphasize the precision of the language of these allusions. The various sobriquets are carefully chosen and exactly applied, with no overlapping. The Last Priest is, as I said, not identical with the Wicked Priest, and neither of them with the Preacher of Lies, who again is in all probability distinct from the Man of Lies: all of these different titles apply to different individuals, the same of course being the case also as regards the much-discussed Lion of Wrath, who will engage our attention a little later.

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[1] Cf. the *lemma* on which the interpretation rests (Ps. xxxvii, 14): " The wicked have drawn out the sword . . . to slay the upright of way ". Scholars have tended to interpret the comments of the Qumran literature without reference to the texts on which they rely, which shew clearly in many cases the meaning that is intended. A study of the subject-matter of Qumran exegesis would be valuable, and I hope to undertake it.

We know very well who the last High Priest was. Josephus (*B.J.* iv, 155) enumerates among the many abuses of the Zealot extremists in Jerusalem that, in order to get the High Priesthood out of the hands of the group of aristocratic families who had formerly monopolized it, they made a new appointment to the dignity by casting lots—the normal " democratic " method in the ancient world. The person thus designated was a simple peasant named Phanni ben Samuel, of the village of Aphthia, who had to be instructed in the duties of his great office. Clearly, this is the same person who is mentioned in the Talmudic literature (Tosephta, *Day of Atonement*, i, 6) as Phineas of Habta, a stonemason, whose " lot came up " to be High Priest while he was working at his trade. It is noteworthy that the Qumran literature stresses the importance of making all appointments by lot: this was therefore a Zealot method of selection, the " Last Priest " Phanni-Phineas being indeed a Zealot nominee, as has been seen.[1]

Obviously, he must have worked in association with the " activist " Zealot faction who at this time were in control of the Inner Court of the Temple (where the actual sacrificial worship was performed), for otherwise he would not have been effectively High Priest at all. The leader of this group was Eleazar ben Simon, who as we have seen had been very active against the Romans from the beginning of the revolt but had been excluded from any command, and with his followers had turned against the original aristocratic administration. The High Priest could not have officiated without his good will, and the two were therefore allies, sharing the same resources. Josephus tells us (*B.J.* ii, 564) that as a result of his part in the military operations in the autumn of 66 Eleazar ben Simon had in his hands " the Roman spoils, the money taken from Cestius, and a great part of the public treasure ", all of which was now to some extent at the disposal of his ally. The Last Priests of Jerusalem, we learn in the Habakkuk Commentary, " gathered wealth and riches from the booty of the Gentiles ", though it was anticipated that in the end this together with their own property would be captured by the Roman armies, as indeed it was (*B.J.* vi, 387–391). The allusion seems as obvious as it is exact.

As we have seen, the Last Priest was in armed conflict with those whom the literature calls Ephraim, or Ephraim and Menasseh. He put forth his hand to smite Ephraim, according to the fragment on Hosea; and with his associates was to be attacked by the Wicked Ones of Ephraim and Menasseh in the approaching time of trial, but would be delivered by God, as we are told in the *pešer* on Psalm xxxvii. Once again, there is no need to seek any far-fetched and over-ingenious explanation of the nomenclature. The natural application during the period of the Second Temple of the term " Ephraim " or " Ephraim and Menasseh " is surely to the inhabitants of the area of the former Northern kingdom: the precise tribal boundaries, by this time half-forgotten, would not much matter. Now, this area became Jewish in character and began to play a part in national life again only after the conquests of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.), and it is pointless to try to find the setting of these allusions until well after this. Indeed, the only occasion in the whole of the Second Temple period when the inhabitants of the former Northern kingdom may be said to have played an independent and even decisive part in national affairs was after the Roman conquest of Galilee in 68, when as has been described the refugees under John of Gischala streamed south and assumed a dominant role in Jerusalem.[1]

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[1] J. Licht in a Hebrew article (*Beth Mikra*, I.ii) attempts to demonstrate that the term ' Lot ' in the Dead Sea Scrolls means something different, but this can hardly be taken seriously.

Thereafter, hostilities broke out between the Galilaeans and the Zealots, under the High Priest and Eleazar ben Simon, who were entrenched in the Temple. This, surely, is what is meant when we are told in the Qumran literature that the Priest " put forth his hand to smite Ephraim " and " was attacked by the Wicked Ones of Ephraim and Menasseh " in the time of stress. (The qualification " Wicked " appears to me to be applied here to those who neglected religious ceremonial, which is one charge brought by Josephus, too, against the Galilaeans and their leaders: *B.J.* v, 564–5; vii, 263–4.) What follows seems to clinch the identification. For the Psalm commentary informs us that, after the clash with the Wicked Ones of Ephraim and Menasseh, the Priest and his associates were " redeemed by God ". This indeed is what happened. For, when the Galilaean extremists gained the upper hand over the Zealots in the Inner Temple, instead of " liquidating " them as had been the fate of the moderate party, they permitted them to coalesce, Eleazar ben Simon and his followers fighting the Romans henceforth, to the end of the siege, in association with their erstwhile enemies. The same was the case with his associate, the Last Priest, who continued to officiate under the new regime: at all events we are not told that any further appointment was made. That he was " redeemed by God " thus corresponds precisely to the facts so far as they may be verified from our other sources.

After speaking in this passage of the Wicked Ones of Ephraim and Menasseh on the one hand, and of the (last) Priest and his associates on the other, the

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[1] The denunciation " of " Ephraim ", associated with the relentless activity of the " Lion," seems to be based on chapter V of Hosea (significantly mentioning also " the House of Judah "): the tiny fragment of the *pešer* on the book that has survived demonstrates at least its importance in the eyes of the sect.

The " perpetual epithets " in the Scrolls, such as the Lion of Wrath, appear to me to have been, not *ad hoc* inventions of the writer, but the terms used in common parlance by the members of the group at Qumran. This would help to explain why Absalom, who achieved prominence only fleetingly, should have been called by his own name.

Psalm xxxvii commentary suddenly changes case and goes on to say, rather obscurely, that " thereafter they shall be given into the hands of the ruthless ones of the Gentiles for judgement ". The reference is certainly to the leaders of the one side or the other but it is difficult to tell which. Perhaps the Priests, in which case we would apparently have an additional detail to add to the biography of Phanni-Phineas, the last incumbent: that after the fall of Jerusalem he was tried and sentenced by the Romans. This however would be an illogical sequel to the statement that he was delivered by God, and hardly an indication of the special divine favour which is implied in the passage. From the Biblical text which is at the basis of the gloss, however (Psalm xxxvii, 14 f., " The Wicked have drawn out the sword . . . to slay the upright. *Their sword shall enter into their own heart* ") it seems more probable that the allusion is to the leaders of the opposing side, including John of Gischala, to whom we must revert. Of him, certainly, this passage is true, for after the Roman triumph he was captured and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment (*B.J.* vi, 433). The obvious implication is, that the Last High Priest survived the War (or died naturally), not falling victim to the Romans. This indeed seems to have been the case: for otherwise it would be inexplicable that he is referred to in the Rabbinic writings without the normal " eulogy " of martyrs, nor is his name included, with those of outstanding learned and pious contemporaries, amongst the classical " Ten Martyrs " of this age.

There is reason to believe (I do not wish to go further than this) that John of Gischala is referred to in the Qumran literature as כפיר החרון—the (Young) Lion of Wrath. In the fragment on Hosea, the clear mention of the Last Priest who sent forth his hand to smite Ephraim is immediately preceded by a mutilated reference to " the Lion of Wrath ", nothing more being recoverable in this line: apparently, the כפיר החרון and the כוהן האחרון are contemporaries, the one being contrasted with the other. The only other reference to the Lion of Wrath is in the mutilated fragment on Nahum, where we are told that he " smote ", with his mighty men and his associates: that (apparently) he persecuted the דורשי חלקות, or Makers of Smooth Interpretations, hanging them up alive: and that he ultimately acquired the wealth which some other element (? the Priests) had gathered together. Immediately before this passage, there is a similarly-mutilated reference to the Kings of Greece, and to Antiochus, and to a specific King of Greece " . . . *ros* ", who has been identified somewhat boldly with Demetrius III (Eucaerus). Whether or no this is correct need not concern us here. But it must be emphasized that in these so-called Commentaries the subject-matter sometimes changes with bewildering rapidity, as verse succeeds verse and clause succeeds clause, so that a reference to the second century B.C. at one point is no reason for discrediting a reference to the first century A.D. in the following line: it seems to me that we have here an allusion to the pacifist policy of the Pharisees

(" the Makers of Smooth Interpretations ") going back to the period of the Hasmonaean revolt, but the document is too mutilated to make any interpretation certain. If however we assume on the basis of the parallel mention in the Hosea fragment that the Last Priest and the Lion of Wrath were contemporaries, the latter being the head of the faction opposed to the former, the interpretation of all the other allusions presents no difficulty. The very name " Lion of Wrath " accords extremely well with what we know of John of Gischala's fiery, remorseless patriotism. He was principally responsible, according to Josephus (*B.J.* v, 539–41; vii, 263), for the sanguinary persecution of the moderates in Jerusalem: the Qumran literature tells us how the Lion of Wrath " smote, with his mighty men and his associates ", how he hanged men up alive, and how he directed his rancour also against the Makers of Smooth Interpretations—*i.e.*, as I have said, the Pharisees. On the capitulation of Eleazar ben Simon and the High Priest Phanni-Phineas, John obviously came into control of some part of the treasure which they had brought together, thus " acquiring their wealth ". And finally, as has been pointed out above, after his surrender to the Romans, he was " given into the hands of the ruthless ones of the Gentiles " for sentence. The persecution of the Pharisees at this time was previously only a matter of conjecture, though probable enough in view of their long-standing pacifist tendencies and the defection to the enemy of their leader Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai. This now seems to be positively confirmed.

All this while, however, there had been another uncompromising centre of extreme patriotic sentiment, besides Jerusalem. I have described how after the assassination of Menahem at Ophel, in the autumn of 66, his surviving followers led by his kinsman Eleazar ben Jair had made their way back to Masadah, where they had continued to maintain themselves. They were impelled by two hatreds, and one hope. They were actuated not only by a fanatical opposition to the Romans, the recognition of whose rule was a negation of the Kingship of God; but also by an implacable resentment against the " moderate " revolutionary regime, established in Jerusalem under the Wicked Priest who had been responsible for the murder of their former leader: and they were convinced that only when this regime was swept away would God favour His people and vouchsafe them victory. Their expectations began to run high perhaps when John of Gischala and his followers established their ascendancy in Jerusalem after the débâcle in Galilee, and overthrew the moderates. But this element too proved far from the Zealot manner of thought, being careless even about the performance of the ritual precepts. They were the " wicked ones " of Ephraim and Menasseh, and though they brought the Wicked Priest to trial, the Lord's salvation was not to be expected so long as they continued in control.

To speak of the Zealots of Masadah is perhaps to underestimate their importance. This was indeed their military centre. We have seen however that they continued to occupy their original monastic buildings at Qumran, where perhaps the elite of the community lived and the scriptorium continued active. Apparently, the group controlled a good deal of the surrounding and intervening areas. On Passover 68, which perhaps they themselves celebrated on a different date, they captured En-Gedi. There is evidence that they controlled Machaerus, north-east of the Dead Sea. They had sympathizers in the surrounding area. They maintained relations with the " activist " Zealot leader, Eleazar ben Simon, who had remained in Jerusalem and long controlled the Temple. This, I have suggested, may be the explanation for the fact that this remote and ascetic monastic sect should have had in its possession the copper scrolls containing lists of great quantities of buried treasure, including sacred vessels and stores of incense. For as we have seen this militant associate of theirs had in his hands the captured Roman treasure-chest even before he occupied the Temple area and, with his priestly allies, came into control of the sacred treasury also. That, when danger threatened, he should have sent to Qumran a record of the places where all this had been concealed would have been not only logical, but even one may say inevitable[1].

At one time there seemed to be a prospect that the Masadah Zealots might have coalesced with another powerful partisan leader who was inflexibly opposed to the central revolutionary government: Simon bar Giora, whom they temporarily permitted to establish his headquarters in Masadah. But disagreements ensued between the two sides: so far as we can tell, Simon bar Giora's programme was essentially social, that of the Zealots basically religious. The ideological differences were presumably responsible for Bar Giora's title in the Qumran literature (if this tentative interpretation is maintained) as " The Man of Lies ", who publicly rejected God's teaching (Habakkuk Commentary, ii, 1–2; v, 11). After some time, he left, ultimately establishing himself in one section of Jerusalem and fighting frenziedly in its defence to the bitter end, though always refusing to come to an agreement with the other faction-leaders. Some of the Masadah Zealots, tired of inaction, apparently left the fortress with him. These are referred to in the literature as the Men of War who, having left with the Man of Lies, were destined for that reason not to see God's comfort (Damascus Covenant, xx, 14–5).

The Masadah Zealots witnessed the entry of the Romans into the Holy

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[1] My reconstruction accepts fully the conclusions of the archaeologists who have worked at Qumran except in one minor point : the fact that the coin-sequence ends with the Third Year of the Revolt seems to me to prove that the occupation ended about, not in, the year 68—in the disturbed condition of the country, newly-minted coins did not necessarily reach this remote and non-commercial centre, nor if they did need they necessarily have been mislaid there. However, my main arguments retain their validity even if it can be finally demonstrated that Qumran was destroyed during Vespasian's Dead Sea expedition of that year: documents written later might still have been brought to the " traditional " deposit in the surrounding caves.

City with a frenzy of expectation. Now was the sinful administration swept finally away. Now would God manifest Himself in all His glory, and establish the rule of His saints on earth. Now had the End of Days foretold by the Prophets arrived. This is the atmosphere reflected by the most significant documents of the Qumran literature, written immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, when the very fact of the withholding of the inevitable Roman onslaught on this last pocket of resistance seemed to them to strengthen their hopes and expectations. They found every detail of the national disaster confirmed and prophesied in the Bible, down to the legionaries' sacrifice to their standards in the Temple court. The prophecies of woe had been fulfilled to the letter; all the more so then could they who fulfilled God's law rely on His deliverance. This was the burden of the literature which they now continued to write and to copy during the brief breathing-space before the storm burst on their heads.

What has been said in this paper is not stated dogmatically, nor can it pretend to be final. It is a tentative and preliminary attempt to apply the historical data that may be elicited from the Qumran literature to the circumstances of first-century Jewish history. The picture must inevitably be corrected and supplemented in this or that detail as fresh material is discovered or the old yields its secrets to more searching analysis. But I think I may claim that it makes a consistent picture, and this is the most important thing of all. The precise dating of the Habakkuk Commentary and the allied literature in the period of A.D. 66–73, forced on us by internal evidence, accords precisely with the circumstances of the time, and gives the documents a coherence and relevance which they otherwise lack.

THE BOUNDARY OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH IN THE WESTERN PLAIN

By EVA DANELIUS

Concluded

VIII

The assertion made in Part VII, namely that a roadstead might have existed at the mouth of river Qanah, right at the south-western end of Manasseh's boundary, had to be based on the Greek wording solely; the M.T. knows nothing about it, though the Hebrew wording does not exclude this interpretation of Josh. xvii, 7 in the LXX.

For the identification of the next borderpoint (which, incidentally, is the first locality named along the common boundary of both tribes) we are on much safer ground: for the first time in the verses dealt with, the Hebrew name and the Greek are identical. In the M.T. as well as in the LXX the place is called *Iamin* (*Iamein*)[1].

From its most westerly point upon the seashore, the common boundary now turns inland following the course of the river Qanah in the direction of Tappuah (Josh. xvii, 7; xvi, 8). Somewhere between the river-mouth at the shore and Tappuah, the border passes by or through Iamin. Iamin, therefore, should be situated at or near the river Qanah.

So far all the places enumerated have been landmarks and, it may be, turning-points in the direction of the borderline. Iamin, therefore, could scarcely have been an obscure village or townlet somewhere along the winding river in the broad plain, but should have been a locality of importance, known for specific reasons to as many people as possible.

Such a locality might be found at the crossing of the river Qanah with the international highway, the age-old *derekh-hayyam* of the Hebrews, the *Via Maris* of the Romans. This road runs in a south-north direction along the foot of the Ephraim hills, at the eastern border of the Sharon Plain. From time immemorial, this highway had served as the main artery which connected Egypt, by land, with the Syrian coastal towns. It was the great trunk road, which was used by peaceful caravans, by tradesmen and pilgrims as well as by conquering armies, by friend and foe alike[1].

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[1] In Hebrew as well as in Greek, *Iamin* has a meaning of its own: Heb. YAMIN means "right"—and this is the way in which Josh. xvii, 7, has been translated ever since the Vulgate decided in favour of it (see below p. 125, n. 2). On the other hand, *Iam*(*e*)*in* and the following *Ias*(*e*)*ib* are related to the Greek words for healing. These words were associated with the god Apollo in his quality as Healer (Soter), and occasionally with Asklepios (*Inscriptiones Graecae* IV, 951, e [Epidaurus], 1929, quoted from Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1948). The Greek god Apollo-Soter superseded Reshef at Arsuf. The Greek names Iamin and Iasib, therefore, may point to Arsuf-Apollonia, and the district attached to it. Though this possibility had to be considered, this writer has decided to accept the words as Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew place-names.

The crossing of the ancient river Qanah with the *Via Maris* is marked, to this day, by two sanctuaries standing almost side by side and separated only by the modern crossroad which connected Kafr Saba (now in Israel) with Qalqilya (now in Jordan). The little shrine north of the road contains a holy tomb known to the Arabs as that of Sheikh Seraka. No explanation could ever be offered for this name. The much more impressive sanctuary south of the road is dedicated to Nebi Yamin who, according to Arab tradition, is no other than Jacob's son Benjamin.

Outside the walls of Nebi Yamin is an ancient cistern going down into a deep well. Vegetation in the neighbourhood testifies to the fact that there is plenty of underground water[2]. Up to 1948, the well of Nebi Yamin served as the main water supply to a great Arab village, Kafr Saba, which lay opposite the well, north of the crossroad mentioned above. During the war of 1948, Kafr Saba was deserted and destroyed. It now lies in ruins, and only the two sanctuaries and the well with its beautiful mediaeval setting stand out untouched, though lonely and forgotten, in the ominous silence.

The name Nebi Yamin is not confined to the sanctuary and its immediate surroundings but designates also the adjoining territory, about one square kilometre in extent. This should serve as proof for the existence of a settlement named Nebi Yamin in the past. But since the bulk of the fields lie in Jordan territory, while the sanctuary itself is almost upon the Israel-Jordan boundary, any archaeological inspection of the region is at present impossible[3].

The problem, whether Nebi Yamin might be identical with the Iamin of Josh. xvii, 7 had therefore to be approached in a roundabout way.

One such approach can be made with the help of the onomastic and topographical details handed down in some apocrypha, especially in the story of the war of the sons of Jacob against the seven Amorite kings[4]. This material will be dealt with extensively in the next chapter.

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[1] Dr. B. Maisler, "Die westliche Linie des Meerweges", *ZDPV* 58, Heft 1/2 (1935), pp. 78 ff.

[2] Dr. Loehnberg mentioned Nebi Yamin immediately, during our first conversation, as one of the points which the river Qanah must have passed. Just because it was so self-understood between us—though we had reached the same conclusion quite independently from each other—he did not mention the place in his written opinion (pp. 41 f.).

[3] A few years after the foundation of the State of Israel, a new-immigrant-settlement was established one mile west of the sanctuary. This new village was given the old name Nabi Yamin—a contemporary illustration of the displacement of place-names referred to on p. 35, n. 2.

[4] Cf. pp. 128 ff. below.

A second possible approach is that by analogy. This is the way to be followed here.

At the *Via Maris*, about seven miles south of Nebi Yamin, stands a similar sanctuary which might well be called a twin to Nebi Yamin. It is called Nebi Thari. At Nebi Thari, archaeological material has turned up which may justify our claim to an ancient history of Yamin, too.

The present building of Nebi Thari is ascribed to Salah-ed-din, as is that of Nebi Yamin. Both sanctuaries are strikingly similar in appearance. Both are almost hidden in folds of the undulating country. Nebi Yamin betrays its presence by its palm-trees, which can still be seen from afar. At Nebi Thari only the upper part of the dome of the main hall is visible from the distance. The two wells at Nebi Thari remind one of that at Nebi Yamin: in both places the wells must have been almost inexhaustible for all practical purposes, fed as they were by the waters of the river Qanah, which drains the entire mountain region around Shechem—viz., Wadi Ballût which drains the high land of south Ephraim and north Judaea.

According to Arab tradition, both sanctuaries were erected in remembrance of sons of Jacob: Nebi Yamin as a memorial of Benjamin, Nebi Thari as a memorial to Asher[1]. Both, as already stated, are situated upon the *Via Maris*, the *derekh-hayyam*. This fact, combined with their ample water-supply, makes these two the ideal market- and resting-places for caravans and pilgrims in peacetime, and desirable strongholds in war.

After the outbreak of hostilities in 1948, the Arabs dug themselves in at Nebi Thari, cutting deep trenches into the muddy earth. After the fighting was over, Jewish settlers from nearby villages inspected the battleground. One of them picked up some sherds, the design of which appealed to him, and showed them to this writer about eight years later. These sherds were finest examples of Philistine pottery and indisputable proof that Nebi Thari had been settled during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.[2].

This is the second reason why this writer pleads for the benefit of the doubt when suggesting that (Nebi) Iamin, too, might have been settled already in the second millennium B.C.—although this fact cannot be confirmed by archaeological investigation under the present circumstances—and that somewhere inside the perimeter of the fields of Nebi Yamin, the ancient city might still lie buried near the old river-bed.

As to the apocrypha, these will be dealt with forthwith in Chapter IX.

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[1] See S. Vilnai, *Madrikh Erez Israel: Tel-Aviv, Hasharon, etc.*, Jerusalem, 1950, p. 91; Min. of Religious Affairs, State of Israel, *Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1950, p. 34.

[2] After the heavy rains of last winter, additional sherds were washed up and collected.

IX

In the Greek text, verse 7 closes with an accumulation of place names: Iamin, Iasib, Eyn Tappuah. In the M.T., this fact is obscured owing to faulty vocalization of the name Iasib. This gives the impression that the Hebrew text as preserved knows only two localities: Iamin and the rather doubtful " inhabitants of Eyn Tappuah ". Before disentangling this error, we want to draw attention to a peculiarity of wording common to both sources.

In both versions, the Hebrew as well as the Greek, the place-names *Iamin*, *Iasib/yoshbei*, and *Tappuah* follow each other closely. Contrary to the style observed hitherto, they are not separated from each other by the usual " and the border went out . . . " This variation in wording seems to mark a variation in the physical feature: we may be justified in deducing that the localities mentioned were situated closely together, almost forming one area. The wording of some Greek variants, furthermore, is more fitting if we presume that Iasib was a region rather than a town: *εἰς Ἰασειβ, εἰς Ιωσηφ*[1] being translated: " (the border went) *into* Iasib (Joseph) ". It is scarcely to be supposed that the boundary cut a town in two, though it may divide a district. This understanding becomes a certainty when we examine extra-biblical sources which will be done below.

The Hebrew alteration of the word Iasib is two-fold: the letters *yod* and *beth* were inverted—a process quite frequent in Hebrew language. It thus became ישבי instead of ישיב. This word then was vocalized יֹשְׁבֵי, the vocalization having been influenced by the corresponding *yoshbei Dor* and *yoshbei Megiddo* in the following verse 11; cf. the preceding *yoshbei Debir* (xv, 15). In these latter instances, the LXX translates *κατοικοῦντας*, " inhabitants ". The deviation of the Greek translation in xvii, 7 therefore, must have been made deliberately. Or, to be more correct, development probably having been the other way round, the name Iasib was still alive and known as that of a locality in the Sharon in the third century B.C., when the Septuagint was composed. It had sunk into oblivion, however, and was unknown to the Massoretes in Tiberias who worked on the vocalization of the Biblical text during the fourth to tenth century of our era[2]. This development was enhanced by the fact that the Sharon was Samaritan territory, not to be visited by law-observing Jews; geographical details, therefore, were forgotten and so were ancient Ephraimite place-names.

The error in the M.T. has been repeatedly pointed out by modern scholars[1], who have stressed the fact that the Greek reading is confirmed by extra-biblical material, especially in some apocrypha. To these extra-biblical sources, we may now add material from the excavations at Nimrud in 1952, referred to above[2].

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[1] Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek*. The alterations appear in various editions of the Palestinian, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Syriac and Old Latin versions quoted in the apparatus to xvii, 7.

[2] E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 11 f. The erroneous Hebrew text was carried over into the Vulgate (" fuitque terminus Manasse ab Aser Machmethath, quae respicet Sichem, et egreditur ad dextram iuxta habitatores fontis Taphuae "), whence it has entered all modern translations.

In a letter addressed to Tiglath-pileser III (" The king, my lord ") by Qurdi-assur-lamur, the Assyrian officer commanding Kaspuna, we read: " . . . Concerning the city of Kaspuna . . . as to what the king said, that is, ' Cause ten households of the Iasubaeans to enter into Kaspuna ', the water therein is ' strong ' (and) people fall sick. When they [i.e., the Iasubaeans] have been duly equipped with their own water . . . I will cause them to enter . . . into Kaspuna "[3]. In his commentary on this letter, Saggs draws attention to another letter where the name Iasubaia is applied to an officer and/or military unit[4]. According to Saggs, there is reference to the land (or district?) of Jasubu north-west of Babylon from the time of Shalmaneser III onwards.

In this connection mention should be made of an additional Assyrian inscription referred to by A. Alt[5]: there Kaspuna and neighbouring places are referred to as being " at the border " or " in the land of the house of Omri " (i.e., of the kingdom of Israel). Alt, therefore, locates these places in the Sharon—much against his original intention.

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[1] Margolis, op. cit.; F. M. Abel, " Tappouah ", *Revue Biblique* 45 (1936), pp. 103–112; Elliger, " Thappuah ", *Palästinajahrbuch* 33 (1937), pp. 7 ff.; S. Vilnai, *Ha'arez bammiqra*, Jerusalem, 1954, p. 58. Nevertheless, it is still claimed by others that Josh. xvi–xvii contain no Ephraimite city-lists; cf. Y. Kaufmann, *Hassippur hamiqra'i 'al kibbush ha'arez* (Hebrew), 1956, pp. 15, 36 f.; English edition, *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1953, pp. 9, 29 f. See also similar remarks by Alt and others, quoted by Kaufmann, ibidem.

[2] Part IV (D. J. Wiseman and H. W. F. Saggs in *Iraq*, XIII and XVII). Some of the names dealt with in this study seem to be found in Egyptian topographical lists. Owing to the peculiarities of syllabic orthography in which all foreign place-names have been recorded, so-called identification of Palestinian place-names includes much guess-work—a fact which prompted this writer to dispense with that material, as far as her present article is concerned.

[3] Saggs, op. cit., Plate XII, p. 128. The devastation of the Sharon by Assyrian soldiery of Tiglath-pileser's army can hardly be more acutely brought home than by this official document: Kaspuna, the centre and flourishing harbour-city had been destroyed and emptied of inhabitants (who had been killed or taken into slavery); resettlement, even at so small a scale (ten households, about 250–300 people altogether), has to be postponed for lack of drinking water in an environment which abounds with wells! This, then, was the historical situation which is echoed in Isa. xxxiii, 9 (" Sharon is like a wilderness ") and the divine promise in Isa. lxv, 10 (" And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks ").

[4] Nimrud letter II, line 18, published in *Iraq*, XVIII, Pt. 1, p. 26.

[5] A. Alt, *Tiglathpilesers III Erster Feldzug nach Palaestina*, *Kleine Schriften*, *Muenchen*, 1953, Bd. 2, pp. 150–162. Alt starts by polemicizing against those who look for Kaspuna as far south as the Sharon. He ends by contradicting his own polemics and quoting from this other inscription (" Eine andere Inschrift Tiglath Pilesers III . . . ", p. 155), without, unfortunately, giving the time and/or place of its discovery or its publication.

To summarize: according to the various Assyrian clay tablets from the 8th century B.C., Iasuba/Iasib seems to have been a district not far from Kaspuna, and one where good drinking water was abundant. The place was near the southern border of the kingdom of Israel, in the Sharon plain.

Preceding the finds at Nimrud, the name Iasib had turned up on an ostracon from Samaria. This Iasib has been identified by Albright, Alt, and Mazar with Kafr Sibb, about 20 kilometres north of Nebi Yamin[1]. At Kafr Sibb are ruined walls on a mound, cisterns, caves, and an Arab high-place (*maqâm*). Vilnai, though mentioning this identification as possible, seems to prefer to identify the Iasib of the ostracon with that in Josh. xvii, 7, and both with the Arab village Jasûf in the mountains, near the Jerusalem-Nablus road[2]. This view is shared by Abel, though disputed by Elliger[3]. Vilnai and Abel support their view by pointing out the unusually rich water-supply of Jasûf, which commands several wells. According to Vilnai, these wells are named Ayin Tappuah (a name obviously unknown to Père Abel, who does not mention it) and the surrounding country is known as the land of Tappuah, i.e., of apples, because of the rich groves cultivated there.

Identification of Iasib with a village in Mt. Ephraim was made before the epigraphic material discovered at Nimrud had been published. Thereafter, identification of Iasib with the Jasûf of Vilnai and Abel has become most questionable and can be upheld only with difficulty.

Hundreds of years later, Iasib/Yshub turns up in the Talmud, and in Samaritan literature. In the Talmud, Yshub is mentioned together with Antipatris at the Yarkon springs in connection with the rules governing the purchase of products of the land. It seems to have been near Kefar Saba, in Samaritan territory[4].

This Yshub, which was also known to the Samaritans, is the same as has been identified with the Iasib on the Samaria ostracon—viz., with Kafr Sibb, as already mentioned. In that case, the Talmudic-Samaritan Iasib/Yshub must be an entirely different place from that mentioned in Josh. xvii, 7, which was intimately connected with Tappuah: no mound in the immediate vicinity of Kafr Sibb was ever suggested for ancient Tappuah.

An acceptable solution should fulfil equally well the demands of all material known so far: the ostracon from Samaria, which points to a place of distinction; the Assyrian clay tablets, pointing to a well-watered locality near the southern border of the " house of Omri " in the Sharon; the Talmudic place near Antipatris/Kafr Saba; the traditions of the Samaritans; and, last but not least, Iasib must be situated upon the intertribal boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh as described in Joshua xvi and xvii, and so must Tappuah nearby.

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[1] I. Ben-Zevie, *Sefer Hashomronim*, Tel-Aviv, 1935, p. 91.

[2] S. Vilnai, *Haarez Bammiqra*, op. cit., pp. 39 f.

[3] Abel, " Tappouah ", op. cit., p. 107; Elliger, " Tappuah ", op. cit., pp. 8, 15, 19.

[4] A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, pp. 87 f.

The answer might be found in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha which are considered almost contemporary with the compilation of the Septuagint[1]. These writings are composed of historical books, e.g., the Books of Maccabees, and of books which contain sagas and legends.

Tappuah is mentioned in I Maccabees, where it is found in the list of towns rebuilt and re-fortified by Jonathan, the Maccabee: " (Jonathan) built strong cities in Judaea . . . Pharaton, and Tephon, with high walls and gates and bars . . . "[2]. These cities have been identified, by Charles, with Pirathon in Ephraimite territory (Judges xii, 13, 15), and Tappuah (Josh. xvi, 8)[3]. In other words, these Ephraimite cities had changed hands and now belonged to Judah. Therefore, they should be sought in one of the border-toparchies which had been added to Judaea from the country of Samaria only recently[4]. The situation before this change corresponded to that in Assyrian times when Jasuba (and Tappuah) lay " at the border [of the land] of the house of Omri ".

The Books of Maccabees do not mention Iasib/Jasuba/Joseph. The intimate connection between Jasub and Tappuah, however, is brought home in a curious way by one of the most popular apocryphal stories: the tale of the fight of Jacob and his sons against a coalition of seven Amorite kings, the leader of whom was the giant king of Tappuah, called Jasub.

The tale has been preserved in quite a number of variants[5]. The story is thought to have been told in order to explain away the seeming contradictions between Gen. xxxv, 5; xxxvii, 12, 13; and Gen. xlviii, 22. It runs like this: Several years after the destruction of Shechem, and Jacob's flight from these surroundings, Jacob's sons returned to Shechem to feed their flocks. Thereupon, the Amorite kings in the neighbourhood of Shechem were gripped by terror, being afraid that they, too, would be wiped out like the people of that unhappy city. Seven Amorite kings united under the leadership of Jasub, king of Tappuah, and attacked the Israelites. The sons of Jacob fought back, slew the kings, conquered and destroyed their cities, and returned to Shechem whence they had come. Jacob, thereupon, built two strongholds of his own, from which he ruled the surrounding country, the inhabitants of which were put to taskwork.

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[1] The composition of the various writings designated as apocrypha and pseudepigrapha is attributed to the last centuries of the pre-Christian era.

[2] I Maccabees ix, 50. Quoted from R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, Vol. I, pp. 67 ff.

[3] Ibidem, p. 100.

[4] Letters of King Demetrius, I Macc. x, 30, 38; xi, 34 (Charles, pp. 103, 109).

[5] An excellent survey is given by G. Klein; " Palaestinensisches im Jubilaeenbuch ", *ZDPV* 57 (1934), pp. 7 ff. Klein quotes from the Book of Jubilees and the Testament of Judah (according to Charles, op. cit.). Klein compares these variants with those in the *Chronicle of Jerahme'el* (ed. Gaster), and with *Midrash Vayissa'u*. Klein, in turn, was used and quoted by Elliger (" Tappuah ", p. 7). Editions used by this writer are: R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the old Testament*, Oxford, 1913; A. Cahane, *Hassefarim Hakhizoniim leTenakh*, Tel-Aviv, 1956; *Sefer Hayyashar* (Hebrew), Warszawa, 1927; A. Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrasch*, 2. Aufl., Jerusalem, 1938, III: *Midrasch Vayissa'u* (Hebrew). The names rendered by L. Ginzberg (*The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 408 ff.) differ slightly from those quoted in the sources used by this writer and, it seems, by Klein.

Scholars are divided in their opinion whether the legend may or may not refer to historic events. Scholars are unanimous, however, as to the importance of the geographic-onomastic material contained in it and considered factual and trustworthy. The value of this material is considerably enhanced by the fact that some sources not only supply the names of the cities but add those of their kings. These names, mostly, are easily recognized as additional place-names, thereby almost doubling the material available for identification. Closer study seems to reveal the fact that these seven pairs of names—those of the " kings " and those of their cities—were actually designations used alternatively for the same locality, originating from various periods of conquest and settlement, comparable to Kiriath-sepher/Debir (Josh. xv, 15) and others. Elliger and Abel, therefore, would be entirely correct in their supposition that Jasib and Tappuah must be very close to each other and/or almost identical.

Coming to actual identification, agreement has been reached as to the placement of four kingdoms which stretched along both sides of the international highway along the ridge of Mt. Ephraim, from Shilo and al-Lubban (Laban) in the south to Askar (Sakir), N.E. of Balata-Shechem, in the North. As to the placing of the remaining three kingdoms—called: Pi-Sosi/Seragan, Jasub/Tappuah, and Pi-Raton/Asour (or Hazor)—scholars differ widely. The only fact agreed upon is that they must be found inside the borders of Ephraim.

From I Maccabees we have learnt, already, that Pirathon and Tappuah should be looked for in the Samaritan border-provinces transferred to Judah in the days of Jonathan the Maccabee, viz., in the southern Sharon[1]. This blends perfectly with the picture obtained after having followed the lead provided by Joshua xvii, 7, and by the Assyrian records.

This thesis is further strongly supported by considering the political, strategic, and economic aspects of the situation.

From time immemorial the land west of the Jordan had been used as an international thoroughfare in war and peace. Traffic moved along two main roads which followed the natural features of the country from south to north: one road run from Beersheba via Hebron along the mountain-ridge to Shechem, where it branched off: east, via the Jordan ford, to Mesopotamia, and north-east, via Beth-shean, to Damascus, while the main road continued north into the valley of Esdraelon and to the Syrian coastal cities. The four Amorite kingdoms identified so far, straddling across this road from Shiloh and Al-Lubban south of Shechem to Askar north of it, held thereby a key-position from which they could control all traffic going north, south, or east from and to Egypt, Babylonia or Assyria, and Syria including the coastal cities of the north.

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[1] See p. 128 above, and nn. 2–4.

The alternative road ran along the coast to Gaza and Ascalon, then leaving the coast and turning inland in order to circumvent the various streams which cut the plain, especially the Yarkon. After having reached Lydda it turned north, passing Rantiye, and ran along the foot of the western slopes of Mt. Ephraim. Further north, it connected the coastal plain with the valley of Esdraelon through passes in the Carmel range. Caravans or armies from Egypt to Damascus or the Syrian coastal towns, therefore, could easily circumvent the Hebron-Shechem road blocked by the four Amorite kings. The Amorites, in order to gain complete control, had to extend

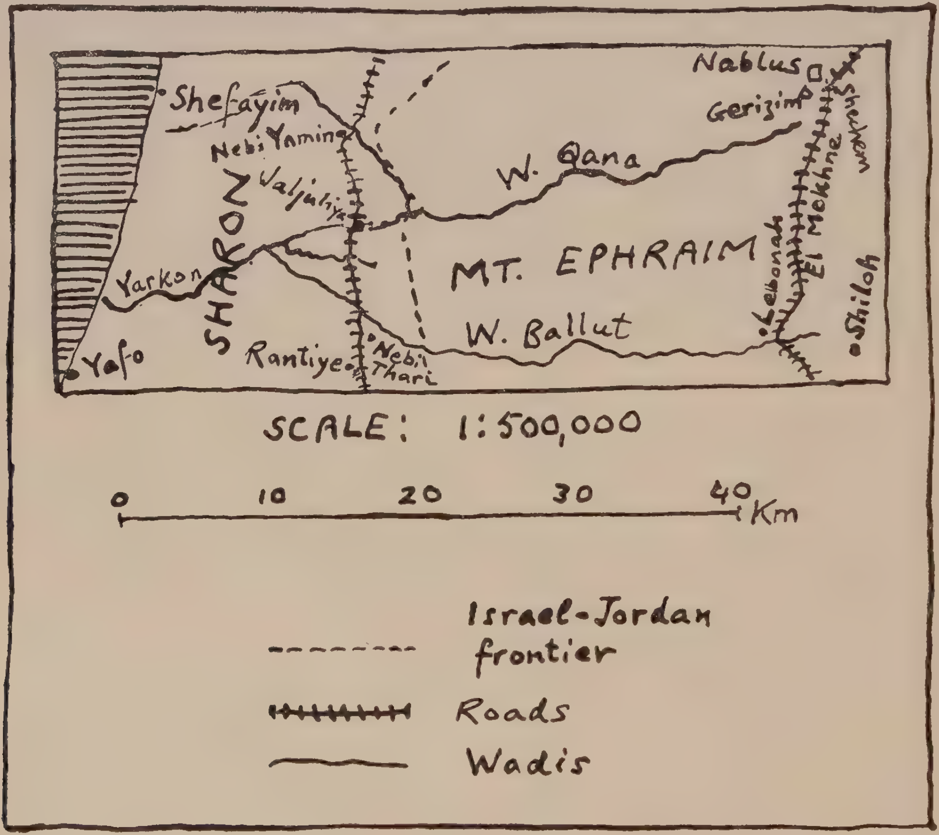
Nablus
Gerizim
Shechem
Shefayim
Nebi Yamin
Jaljulya
SHARON
W. Qana
MT. EPHRAIM
Lebonah
El Mokhne
Shiloh
Yarkon
Yafo
Rantiye
Nebi Thari
W. Ballut
SCALE: 1:500,000
0
10
20
30
40
Km
Israel-Jordan frontier
Roads
Wadis

Fig. 1.

their rule over the central part of the coastal road, the *Via Maris*, at the foot of Mt. Ephraim.

From the watershed on the ridge of Mt. Ephraim long spurs of mountains extend westwards, separated by deep valleys. The principal canyons are Wâdy Deir Ballût, forming a natural division which to some scholars appears to have been that between Judaea and Samaria[1], and the next most important natural feature, Wâdi Qana, which rises just south of Gerizim. The sides of these valleys are very steep throughout and might be compared to a natural moat surrounding a giant fortress, namely the central massif of Mt. Ephraim (see fig. 1). In order to make this natural stronghold complete, the western side of the " fortress " would have to be fortified in a similar manner to its eastern side along the ridge. In other words, the seven fortresses would be arranged like bastions around one single giant fort, each bastion being near to and in easy contact with both its neighbours. Concomitantly, the western fortresses would protect the fertile plain of the Sharon against attacks from the south, just as Megiddo protected the entry through the Carmel pass to the maritime plain from the north.

The three fortresses Pisosi/Seragan, Jasub/Tappuah, and Piraton/Asour, therefore, should be found straddling across the western highway in a similar manner and parallel to their sister-fortresses on the ridge, and, like these, should protect the region between the openings of Wâdi Ballut and Wâdi Qana. The wâdis themselves could be easily controlled by patrols from both sides, the distance between the plain and the ridge being about " two hours by horse, and one on a camel ", as described by a native Arab to this writer.

The problem, therefore, narrows down to the question how to distribute the three fortresses along this road.

The name Seragan seems to have been preserved in the name of the little sanctuary at Nebi Yamin: Seraka—which, in the apocryphal text, received an Aramaic ending[2]. The territory of Seragan bordered that of Tappuah[3] in the same way as that of Nabi Yamin borders that of Jaljuliya of today. Tappuah seems to have been the greatest fortress, its land covering almost the entire region between Wâdi Qana and the Yarkon springs.

The name Asour seems to have been preserved in the memory of the Arabs who ascribe the sanctuary of Nebi Thari to Jacob's son Asher. This, quite obviously, is to be ascribed to popular etymology common among all peoples and well known to all linguists. The second name, Pirathon, has also been preserved in these surroundings. The name is known from Judges xii, 13, 15, as a city in Ephraim, and mentioned as the home of Benaiah the Ephraimite, one of the " mighty men " of David.[1] In I Maccabees, it is named together with Tappuah as one of the border-cities fortified by Jonathan[2]. The place has been conveniently identified with an obscure Arab village Ferata for no other reason than for its name. Pirathon sounds Egyptian (as does Pi-Sosi, which is sometimes called Sosi), in which case it should be written Per-Aton (house of Aton, the sun-god), or Pi-Raton. The name Raton has been preserved in the name of the former Arab village Rante or Rantiya at the *Via Maris*, south of Nebi Thari; in addition, the name Thari, too, may derive from and be a distortion of Rato(n)[3]. From Nebi Thari, the opening of Wâdi Ballut can be easily watched and seen. Among the thousands of Byzantine sherds which cover the ground around the sanctuary, Philistine sherds have been found at the eastern slope of the little mound, which provide the necessary archaeological evidence for early settlement. It would be most astonishing, indeed, if this entrance into the heart of the country had remained unprotected.

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[1] Conder-Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, Vol. II: *Samaria*, pp. 280 ff.

[2] The Samaritans knew a place called Birath S'rika, on the *Via Maris*. It has been tentatively identified by Mazar with Tul Karim (Ben-Zevie, *Sefer Hashomronim*, p. 94).

[3] *Testament of Judah* v, 6; Jubilees xxxiv, 7. Even more detailed is *Midrash Vayissa'u* (p. 2): " they went from Hazor (Asour) to Seragan, whence they turned back (*ḥasru l'aḥareihem*) and went to Tappuah "—a clear indication that Tappuah lay between the two fortresses Hazor and Seragan.

Joshua xvii says nothing about Pirathon, for the obvious reason that it was not a border-city but lay inside Ephraimite territory. Its identification, however, seemed necessary for its connection with Tappuah both in I Maccabees and in the story of the fight of the sons of Jacob.

The text we are concerned with (Josh. xvii, 7) speaks about Jasib/Eyn Tappuah. The word *eyn* has been translated, alternatively, as πηγήν (" well ") or as τὴν γῆν (" territory, open land "). Both translations might be correct: Iasib may mean the open land around the fortress, and it may designate the waters running through it. In the *Chronicle of Jerahme'el* it is reported that the sons of Jacob rested " at the waters of Jasub, north of Tappuah "[4]. In the *Testament of Judah*, these same waters are called " the waters of Kozeba " (vi, 1). It seems that though the name Tappuah has vanished, both names, Iasib as well as Khozeba, have survived.

The name of Kozeba (Chozeba) may be recognised in the name Chabarzaba mentioned by Josephus as that of the region around the Yarkon springs[5]. A few chapters thereafter, Josephus mentions the same area under its Aramaic name: (the plain of) Kafar-Saba[6]. The name of Kafar-Saba has been preserved as a place name, wandering north from the Yarkon springs along the *Via Maris* till it stayed with the great and flourishing Arab village to which the well at Nebi Yamin became the main water-supply—and which now lies in ruins. In the meantime, however, a Jewish village had sprung up about 1½ miles to the west of the Arab settlement, and bearing the same name, K'far Saba. This village which developed into a flourishing district city is now the only heir to the old name which, during 3,000 years, has been travelling along the entire region between Nebi Thari and Nebi Yamin and is now resting at a place about 5 miles north-west from its starting point at the Yarkon springs.

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[1] 2 Sam. xxiii, 30; 1 Chron. xi, 31; xvii, 14.

[2] 1 Macc. ix, 50 (see p. 128 above).

[3] The final *n* was suppressed as in Seragan/Seraka.

[4] *The Chronicle of Jerahme'el*, ed. Gaster, p. 82, para. 8, quoted by G. Klein, op. cit., p. 10.

[5] Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, 15 : 1.

[6] Josephus, *Antiquities* XVI, 5 : 2

The original name Iasib seems to have survived in the name Yasin[1]. The name Yasin is applied, by the local Arabs, to Wâdi Qana when designating the portion from the opening in the hills to south of Jaljuliya according to its present-day course. This corresponds to the portion between the opening in the hills and the boundary of Nebi Yamin in ancient times, according to our reconstruction of the old river-course[2]. In other words, it designates that portion of the river Qanah which ran through and watered the "plain of Kafar Saba" of Josephus, the "land of Jasubu" of the Assyrians.

If this be so, the mound of ancient Tappuah should be right here. According to Joshua (xvii, 8) and the Apocrypha[3], the fortress must have been south of the river though bordering it, while its fields lay north of it. The mound should be a Bronze Age mound of considerable size.

There is one mound, and one mound only which satisfies all possible demands: the mound upon and around which stands the present-day Arab village of Jaljuliya.

Albright, who visited the place in 1929, remarks: "The eastern edge of the Plain of Sharon is marked by a number of Bronze Age mounds, few of which have been adequately studied. South of Tûl Kârim lie the mounds of . . . Djildjûlieh probably reaching back into the Bronze Age . . .[4]" Jaljuliya has been repeatedly identified with the city of "the king of the nations of Gilgal"[5] for no other reasons than its name and its antiquity. There are, however, almost a score of place-names in central Palestine derived from *gilgal*, a word which designates a holy stone-circle. Such a name characterizes a place as a more or less exalted one, but it is not a proper name. Incidentally, when mentioning Tappuah, the local Arabs told me a similar story to that mentioned by Vilnai in connection with Jasuf[6]: the land around Jaljuliye was known as the most fertile in entire Palestine, being a loamy soil well-watered by numerous springs all the year round. Its fruit-gardens and apple-groves were famous and compared to those of Damascus; it did indeed deserve the name Tappuah!

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[1] As stated in connection with Kaspuna, the labials *b*, *p* and *m* are interchangeable in Semitic languages (see above, Part IV). Final *m* changed to *n* in Greek as well as in Aramaic, and in the Northern Israelitic dialect.

[2] See above, Part VI, and map. The entire course of Wâdi Qana is divided by local Arabs into portions each named after the village through whose territory it runs, and which owns the water-rights.

[3] *Testament of Judah* vi, 1; *Chronicle of Jerahme'el;* see p. 132, n. 4.

[4] W. F. Albright, "The Spring Trip of 1929", *BASOR* 35, Oct. 1929.

[5] Josh. xii, 23. This identification seems to have originated with Conder-Kitchener, op. cit., p. 288.

[6] See above, p. 127.

Jaljuliya is full of memories of a glorious past of which the inhabitants of this impoverished Arab village are still conscious and proud. It lay on the crossroads of the pilgrim's route to Mecca, and is full of ruins of stately buildings from mediaeval times. Its orange-groves are planted into ancient mosaic floors from where large stone steps—the uppermost of entire flights—go down into no longer existing valleys, or vaults. During the recent laying of a water-pipe, Early Iron sherds turned up. But no digging has ever been done. Jaljuliya has always been intimately connected both ways, with Nablus at the mountain ridge as well as with the mosque of Ali at the Mediterranean[1]. Feudal families from Nablus held and worked land of Jaljuliya, and several of their members are buried at the village cemetery[2]. Yearly pilgrimages to the mosque of Sidna Ali were customary right into the 20th century, the region of Jaljuliya being under his protection, and various noblemen from Jaljuliya held the office of custodian of this mosque.[3]

Ephraim, which held the coast with its main harbour at the mouth of the river Yarkon, needed the fortress of Tappuah for patrolling the road and securing the vital communication to Shechem. Ephraim had no compelling interest for keeping the land of Tappuah north of the river Qanah or for disputing its allocation to Manasseh, as recorded in Josh. xvii, 8.

From Tappuah, the boundary " descended unto the river, to the south of it " (*v.* 9)[4]. From the Greek text we may infer that the border ran along the river right to its source.

With the boundary following the winding course of the river Qanah and vanishing from view between the lower hills of Mt. Ephraim, the description of the Boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh in the Western Plain, in a strictly geographical sense, has ended.

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[1] It was here that the writer's question as to the distance to Nablus was characteristically answered: " two hours on horseback, and one on a camel ".

[2] Among these tombs is that of the " Grand Emir ", the best friend of Salah-ed-Din and defender of Acre against Richard Lionheart. He became governor of Nablus, where his descendants still live. His grave at Jaljuliya is still worshipped.

[3] One such case is remembered in old chronicles: in the 15th century, the custodian was " . . . our lord . . . Shams ad-din Abu-'l-'Aun Muhammed el-Ghazzi . . . an inhabitant of Jaljuliya " (Mujir-ad-din, quoted in *Muslim Religious Buildings*, op. cit., p. 37).

[4] The word *yarad* (" descended ") has been erroneously interpreted as meaning that the border went down *along* the river, and used to justify the theory that Tappuah was situated high up in the mountains. The M.T. as well as the Septuagint state unmistakably that the border went down *to* the river, namely from the fortress of Tappuah which was built on higher ground because of the winter floods.

X

When starting on our venture, we took care to choose an undisputed border-point for departure, namely Gezer, in order not to take up a thread in the void. Naturally we do not deem our answer complete if loose ends are left. We, therefore, deem it necessary to connect the boundary left in the eastern Sharon with a line running through another undisputed locality, far north of Gezer.

We closed with the statement, that the boundary now follows the course of the river Qanah upstream to its source south of Mt. Gerizim. How far is this reconstruction supported by the Biblical text?

The verse we are dealing with, Josh xvii, 9b, is probably the most disputed verse in this much disputed chapter. It has a counterpart in chapter xvi, 9, which has been equally thoroughly misunderstood[1]. Even the most conservative scholars, who consider changing the Massoretic text almost insufferable, are at a loss when explaining these verses[2]. It is our intention to show that there is nothing wrong with these verses; that the text has been handed down through the ages unchanged, each letter having been preserved most faithfully, even at times when the deeper meaning of the words had long since been forgotten. It is this inherited humbleness of the unknown scribe and copyist when dealing with the Holy Word that will help us to retrieve its true meaning.

Josh. xvii, 9a has already been quoted when dealing with the Sharon: " And the coast decended unto the river Qanah, southward of the river ". Contrary to the English translation, no punctuation-mark follows in the M.T. or the LXX[3]. The English text follows the M.T. The LXX seems to provide more detailed information: (M & R) *καὶ καταβήσεται τὰ ὅρια ἐπὶ φάραγγα Κανα ᾿πὶ λίβα κατὰ φάραγγα.* This may be understood: " And the border went down to the river Qanah, in direction of its spring, along the river . . . " which would fit perfectly and bring us right up to Mt. Gerizim, south of which Wâdi Qana rises to this day[4]. The text continues, without any interruption by punctuation-marks: (M) *Ιαρειν (Ιαρειμ), ἡ τερέμινθος τῷ Εφραιμ ἀνὰ μέσον πόλεως Μανασση,* i.e.: " Iarein, the Terebinth (given) to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh (and the border of Manasseh north of the river . . .) ". In other words, the boundary-point reached when following the river Qanah to its source is a place called Iareim, the Terebinth. It should be situated in the region of Mt. Gerizim. Its situation is further characterized in that it must be north of the river Qanah's source. If not—if Iarein, the Terebinth, were south of the border-line—it would have fallen automatically to Ephraim and could not be described as being situated " in the midst of the cities of Manasseh ".

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[1] See especially Noth, *Das Buch Josuah,* pp. 72, 75 ff. The structure erected by Noth upon a most arbitrary interpretation of xvi, 9 and xvii, 9b has been heavily attacked by Simons, " The Structure and Interpretation of Josh. xvi–xvii ", *Orientalia Neerlandica* 1948, pp. 190–215, and Kaufmann, op. cit.

[2] Cf. Y. Kaufmann: " In our text, the description consists of an absurd confusion (of boundary lines) "—quoted from English edition, p. 30 (Hebrew, pp. 38, 41).

[3] The lack of a punctuation-mark has been the source of discussions as to where the word " south " belongs. The English translation is correct when attaching it to the word " river ". Kaufmann's understanding it as belonging to the following " these cities " is erroneous.

[4] Conder-Kitchener, *Memoirs* II, p. 280.

The same conclusion is reached when we examine the Hebrew text, ערים האלה לאפרים בתוך ערי מנשה וגבול מנשה מצפון לנחל. Comparison reveals that both texts correspond verbatim. If so, the much misunderstood Hebrew words ערים האלה form a place-name. In Greek, this same place is called " Iarein, the Terebinth ".

The transcription of Heb. ‘*Arim* into Gk. *I-arein* is in perfect compliance with the rules: the *iota* is a prothetic vowel similar to that in *I-kasmon*[1]. The Hebrew *yod* seems to have been pronounced in a way which sounded to the Greeks like a vowel between their ι and ει[2]. Finally, it is well known that the plural ending *-im* in the Judaean dialect, the so-called Biblical Hebrew, became *-in* in the North[3]. The Hebrew word for the terebinth tree is ’*elah* (vocalized אֵלָה). As in the case of *Iasib*, all we have to do is to correct erroneous vocalization. By replacing the erroneous *segol* below the *lamed* by a *qamaz*, we get as plain and transparent a text as we could wish, as clear and unequivocal as the Greek one, quoted and translated above.

Before looking for the place, let us go back to Josh. xvi, which deals with the boundary of Ephraim. After the description of the boundary has ended (*v.* 8), there is an addition, almost a counterpart to xvii, 9, which points to ‘Arim Ha’elah: וערים המבדלות לבני אפרים בתוך נחלת בני מנשה כל הערים וחצריהן. The word להבדיל is used in Gen. i in the sense of separating two entities finally and unmistakably, by drawing a line of demarcation between them. Thereafter it is used almost exclusively in the sense of separating or setting apart something or somebody as sacred (e.g., the Levites, or Aaron the high priest), or for making a distinction between clean and unclean[5]. There is, however, only one strictly defined case when this verb is used to characterize cities (*'arim*): it is used only and solely with the cities of refuge for the " slayer . . . which should kill his neighbour unaware "[1].

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[1] See *P.E.Q.*, Jan.–June 1957, p. 65. The peculiarity of adding a prothetic vowel has been observed in Semitic languages as well as in Greek, and in later Vulgar Latin. It is still used in Modern Hebrew, e.g., *I-stadion* (stadion), *A-platon* (Plato), etc.

[2] " Obviously . . . Greek *iota* and the diphthong *epsilon-iota* were identical in pronunciation " (F. V. Filson, *Biblical Archaeologist*, 20, 1957, p. 60). Cf. also Iamin/Iamein (p. 122 above), Iasib/Iaseib (p. 125 above).

[3] Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 187, n. 27.

[4] See above, p. 24. The correct reading is contained in the Pal. rec. Codex Sarravianus; cf. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek*, Apparatus to xvii, 9.

[5] E.g., Lev. x, 10; xi. 47; Nu. viii, 14; xvi, 9; Dt. x, 8, etc.

The three cities set apart by Joshua as cities of refuge were Kadesh-Naftali, Shechem in Mt. Ephraim, and Hebron[2]. The *'arim hamivdaloth* in xvi, 9, therefore, can be no other than the city of refuge Shechem, and her suburbs[3].

Shechem lies north-east of Mt. Gerizim and of the river Qanah's source, i.e., north of the inter-tribal boundary. Therefore, it did not go automatically to Ephraim but would have become Manasseh's, if not stated otherwise. From xvi, 9 we learn that Shechem and her suburbs, though surrounded by Manassite territory, had been singled out and allocated to Ephraim.[4]

The question now arises, whether it is this fact which is hinted at and rubbed in in xvii, 9. Was *'Arim Ha'elah* a synonym for Shechem?

Modern scholarship is inclined to identify the two, i.e., the place of the *'elah* and the cities of Shechem, and excavation seemed to confirm this identification[5]. Their deductions are based on Eusebius and Jerome, to whom the holy tree was known as " balanus, id est quercus " (the oak)[6]. Eusebius describes the site as follows: " Balanos of the Sicimites, where Abimelech was made king. Today in a rural suburb of Neapolis [Nablus], near Joseph's tomb ". The name *balanos* has survived in the name of an Arab hamlet known as Balata, at the foot of the north-eastern slope of Mt. Gerizim. Identification is enhanced by the fact, that the Samaritan name for this hamlet is still *'Ilana Taba='Alon Moreh*, " The Tree of Grace ", " The Holy Oak "[7]. In other words: the *'Elah* of Josh. xvii, 9 would be the same tree as the *'Elon Moreh* at *Maqom Shechem* where Abraham worshipped (Gen. xii, 6), where Jacob buried the foreign gods (Gen. xxxv, 4), and would be identical, too, with " the oak, that was by the sanctuary of the Lord " at Shechem, where Joshua, the Ephraimite, renewed

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[1] Deut. iv, 41; xix, 2, 7.

[2] Josh. xx, 7.

[3] Josh. xxi, 21.

[4] Though the place has not been identified, details how and where it should be situated have been realized by Simons, who thought the *'arim hammivdaloth* to have been " a relatively small enclave (somewhere above the river Kanah), surrounded by Manassite cities ". J. Simons, " Structure . . ", op. cit., p. 194.

[5] A concise story of the rediscovery of ancient Shechem is given in *The Biblical Archaeologist* XX, 1 (1957). Excavations have unearthed the largest temple ever found in Palestine. Activities on the mound of ancient Shechem/Balata have been resumed, in 1956, by the Drew-McCormick-ASOR expedition. Reports on the first two campaigns, 1956 and 1957, have been published in *BASOR* 144 (Dec., 1956) and 148 (Dec., 1957). Cf. also *Biblical Archaeologist* XX, 4 (1957).

[6] Eusebius, ed. Klostermann, p. 54, 23; Jerome, *ibid.*, 55, 24; see also Grace M. Crowfoot—Louise Baldensperger, *From Cedar to Hyssop*, London, 1932: these magnificent holy trees " . . . are more often oak or terebinth than any other kind of trees . . . " (p. 106).

[7] Ben Zevie, *Sefer Hashomronim*, p. 70; Cunningham Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, New York, 1890, p. 476.

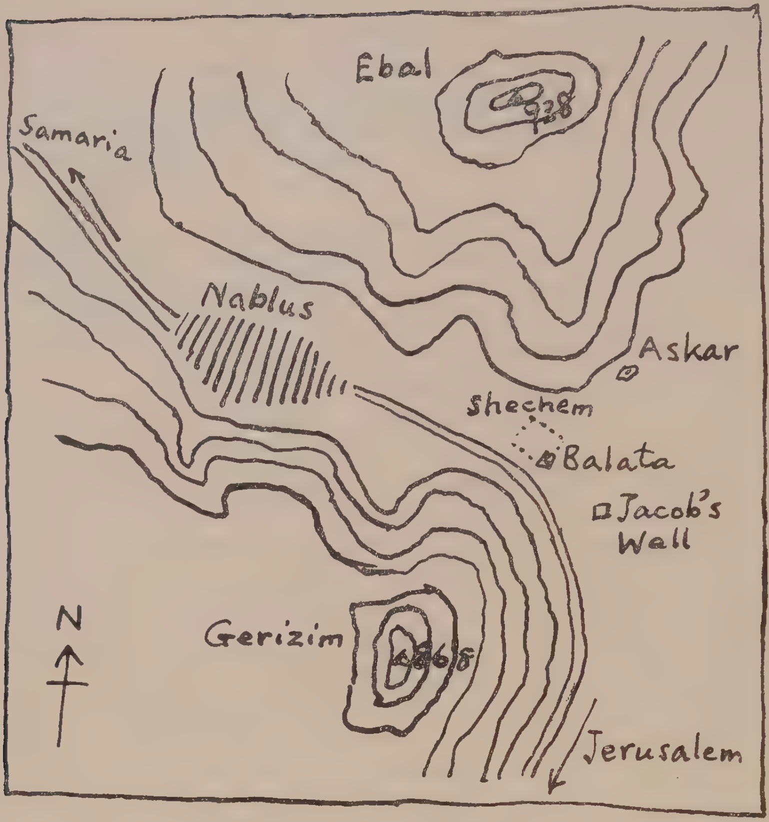

Fig. 2. Reproduced from A. Parrot, *Samarie: Capitale du Royaume d'Israël* (fig. 32, " Garizim et puits de Jacob "), with the author's kind permission.

the covenant and put up the stone for remembrance (Josh. xxiv, 25, 26). According to the tradition known to Eusebius, it was the tree under which Abimelech was made king (Judges ix, 6). According to Josh. xvii, 9, the holy tree became Ephraim's.

The word '*Arim*, the first component in the name '*Arim Ha'elah*, is a foreigner to the Hebrew language. It is an Egyptian loanword, better known in the transcription: *Harim*[1]. This derivation suggests itself. After all, it should not be forgotten that the Joseph sons were the grandsons of the high priest of On, and that Egyptian was their mother-tongue[2]. Harim, originally, meant " seclusion ". The Egyptian word is the exact counterpart of the Mesopotamian word *seker*, i.e., " lock " (cf. *sekertu*, " the secluded one ")[1]. As will be shown below, the name *Harim* at *Harim Ha'elah* was superseded and changed to its Mesopotamian counterpart several centuries later, when the land was overrun by the Assyrians in the 8th century B.C.

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[1] Gutturals interchange frequently in Northern Hebrew. The Samaritan script does not differentiate at all between the letters *he*, *heth*, *ayin*, and *aleph*, all of which are rendered by *aleph* (I. Ben-Zevie, *Sefer Hashomronim*, p. 39).

[2] Since these lines have been written, excavations at the mound of Balta have shown, that the sanctuary there was conquered by Egypt around 1550 B.C. and that things seem to have remained unchanged up to Abimelech's time (private information).

The word *harim* has survived in modern Arabic where it is pronounced *haram*. The *haram* is the secluded area around a most holy sanctuary. The word is usually followed by the name of the sanctuary, to which the territory belongs, e.g., Haram Sidna Ali (meaning: the secluded area around the mosque erected over the tomb of the Arab saint, Sidna Ali, near Arsur)—the grammatical structure of the name being the exact parallel to *'Arim Ha'elah*, the Haram around the Holy Tree.

After having retrieved the ancient name, it might be worth while to examine a few Biblical and extra-Biblical sources in the hope for more detailed information whether or not *'Arim Ha'elah* is identical with " Shechem and her suburbs ". In Judges, Arim is mentioned in connection with Abimelech, who retreated thither and hid there with his troops[2]. The area, therefore, must have been rather extensive, and well fortified.

This latter observation seems to be confirmed by an extra-Biblical testimonial dating from the 9th century B.C.—the inscription on the so-called Mesha Stone, a stele found at Dibon, the ancient Moabite capital[3]. There, Mesha, king of Moab, describes his revolt against and conquest of the kingdom of Israel after the death of king Ahab. Immediately after the conquest, Mesha started to rebuild the ruined cities[4]: " It was I (who) built Qrhh, the wall of Iarin, and the wall of Ophel . . . ". Qrhh means a metropolis. It was related to Dibon, the capital of Moab, though this city had remained untouched by the war[5]. *Iarin* has been translated " garden ", or " forest ", with a question-mark: why does Mesha boast of having built a wall around a garden instead of having laid out a garden, viz., planted a forest? *Ophel* was translated " citadel ", though attention was drawn (in a footnote) to the fact that the only cities known to have had an *'ophel* in Biblical times were Jerusalem and Samaria.

Prompted by the same observation, one modern writer has drawn the conclusion that the metropolis rebuilt by Mesha was Samaria, the capital of Israel, which had been severely damaged during the fighting, as had her *'Ophel*![1] If so, the *Iarin* of Mesha would be identical with the *Iarin* in Josh. xvii, 9: it would be the secluded area around the central sanctuary. Mesha, though devoted to Kemosh, did not want to upset the mighty god of Israel and hastened to appease him by rebuilding the wall around his *harim*.

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[1] A. Bedawy, " About three Egyptian Hieroglyphs ", *Journ. of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. XV, 3 (1956), pp. 175 ff.

[2] Judges ix, 41, 43. The northern pronunciation has been preserved in the LXX (cf. above, Iasib/Yshub).

[3] R. Dussaud, *Les Monuments Palestiniens et Judaiques*, Musée de Louvre, Paris, 1912: Stêle de Mésa, p.4; H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2. Aufl., 1926, pp. 44 ff. An English translation is given in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the O.T.*, New Jersey, 1950, p. 320 (trans. W. F. Albright).

[4] Cf. the similar activities of Tiglath-pileser III, referred to above, p. 126.

[5] F. W. Winnet, " Excavations at Dibon in Moab ", *BASOR* 125 (1952), pp 8 ff.

Among the many variations and abbreviations of the name *'Arim Ha'elah* found in the Septuagint, Rahlfs decided in favour of the form *Ariel*.[2]

Ariel, as a place-name, occurs only once in the M.T.: in Isaiah xxix. For lack of a more fitting explanation, it has been interpreted as an—otherwise unknown—epithet of Jerusalem, though the historical background remained a riddle. The setting becomes intelligible as soon as the scenery is transferred to the sacerdotal cities at Mt. Gerizim, with the armies of Tiglath-pileser III closing in on Israel, about 734 B.C.

The prophet's outcry against Ariel is paralleled by his outcry against *S-k-r*, " Sikhor " in Judaean (Biblical) pronunciation.[3] The standard translation of *s-k-r* in Isa. xxviii is " drunkards ", though it has long since been suspected that the misleading spelling in the M.T. might be an intentional playing upon what originally was a place-name[4]. The scholars who thought thus were right: *S-k-r* is no other but the Mesopotamian synonym for *'Arim* (Harim), as shown above.[5] *S-k-r* is best known in its Greek form, " Sychar ", from the Gospel of John (iv, 5). It has been identified with the present-day Arab village Askar, about 700 yards north-east of Balata. From Askar stretches a fertile valley, Sahl Askar, in an easterly direction into the neighbourhood of another hamlet, Salim, whose name recalls ancient Shalem (Gen. xiv, 18; xxxiii, 18). Isaiah may well have remembered Sahl Askar when preaching against the priests at *S-k-r*, " on the head of fat valleys " (xxviii, 1).

In Jewish legend, it was the Egyptian name which was preserved. Most fittingly, the building of Arim Ha'elah has been ascribed to Jacob[6].

A conclusive answer about the location of Arim Ha'elah or Shechem and her suburbs might be obtained when screening ancient maps.

The most famous of these is the Madeba Mosaic Map, discovered in a Byzantine church at Madeba in Transjordan. The map derives from about A.D. 565. The map in that part we are interested in, is rather damaged.

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[1] I. Velikowsky, *Ages in Chaos*, New York, 1952, p. 274.

[2] Margolis, in his apparatus, gives all varieties. Ariel seems to be an abbreviation from Ari(mha)el(ah). Differently in Ez. xliii 15, 16, and Chronicles.

[3] Isaiah xxviii. Understanding of Isaiah would gain tremendously if more attention were paid to the historical setting. See also above, footnote 13.

[4] G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 26th ed., London, 1935, pp. 368 f.

[5] See p. 139, n. 1.

[6] In the legend of the fight of the sons of Jacob against 7 Amorite kings (see above, p. 128, n. 5). The city founded by Jacob after the final victory is called Arab-el, when vocalized correctly. (About interchangeability of the labials *b*, *p* and *m* see *P.E.Q.*, Jan.–June, 1957, p. 65, n. 2; also p. 133 above, n. 1.)

Enough has remained however in order to clear the situation almost unequivocally. East of Nablus, between the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, lies a place called ΧΑΡΙΝΥΝ [C]ΥΧΩΡΑ, " Harin now Sychora ". Below the name is entered the tomb of Joseph, and the well of Jacob is to the right. Bordering Harin is " Sychem also Sikima also Salem "[1].

Differentiation between the *harim* and Shechem is in accord with Eusebius, who never stated the identity of the oak with Shechem. It rather seems, from the map, that they were not one, but two distinctly different entities.

It seems that '*Arim Ha'elah* was more comprehensive, covering the area from Mt. Gerizim (perhaps including it?) to Sahl Askar. On the *harim* stood the holy *'elah*, and the sanctuary, " the navel of the land "; the *harim* included the tomb of Joseph, and Jacob's well and, possibly, the city of refuge. Connected with the Harim but not included in the sacred seclusion were the priestly cities, Shechem and her suburbs, which stretched east to Shalem[2].

It was the *harim* which had been bestowed solemnly upon Joseph, by the dying Jacob[3]. It was here where the central sanctuary of the Amphictyony was to be established. One of the prerequisites for its existence was the guarantee of free access to the temple and its surroundings for each and every Israelite, to whichever tribe he belonged and from wherever he came.

Entrusting the safety of the Haram to Joseph was meant as a solemn confirmation of the established leadership of the house of Joseph. The official guardianship of Joseph over the central sanctuary and adjoining Haram was further emphasized and symbolized by the solemn burial of Joseph's bones at that very spot[4]. Though no details of the ceremonies observed have been recorded, it might be assumed that these were carried out in a similar way to those so vividly described in connection with the burial of Jacob[5].

At the time of the conquest, the tribe of Joseph was already split in two. Josh. xvi, 9, and xvii, 9, illustrate how the two tribes surrounded the Haram in a way that made access to the central sanctuary equally convenient to both.

As it happens, '*Arim* lies north of the river Qanah's source. Its protection, therefore, would fall to Manasseh. The fact that a special arrangement was made and the entire district ('*Arim and* Shechem) entrusted to Ephraim—probably in a solemn ceremony under the *'elah*, by Joshua bin-Nun and

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[1] According to reproduction in M. Avi-Yonan, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem, 1954. Cf. also O'Callaghan in *Supplement, Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1957), Tome V, pp. 627 ff. O'Callaghan does not comment on the name Harin which seems incomprehensible to him. Avi-Yonah suggests a reading which would change the *iota* in Harin to *eta*, which seems unjustified.

[2] The cities of the Levites were quite extensive; cf. Nu. xxxv, 2–5.

[3] Gen. xlviii, 22; John iv, 5. The expression *χωρίον* used in John might represent a play on words with *χάριν*.

[4] Josh. xxiv, 32.

[5] Gen. l, 10, 11.

Eleazar, the priest, in the presence of the elders and all Israel—this fact is the undisputable outward sign that the bearer of the birthright in Israel was Ephraim[1].

Among the Samaritans at Nablus lives one family of those claiming descent from the tribe of Ephraim, which proudly adds to its family-name the title *Shomer He-Haram*, "Guardian of the Haram"[2]. There may be few families on earth who would claim uninterrupted nobility during a period of over 3,000 years with such rights as the Ephraimite family Ha-Danphe, at Nablus.

The problem set in this monograph was, whether it is possible:

(*a*) to reconstruct the boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh without altering the Massoretic text of Joshua xvi, 6 ff.; xvii, 7 ff., and

(*b*) simultaneously, in doing so, to allot a territory to Ephraim commensurate with its leading position among the Hebrew tribes[3].

As to (*a*), the answer is an unrestricted *Yes*. All that had to be suggested was a change in vowel-points, in two cases. Both cases concerned ancient place-names which had sunk into oblivion, and which were unknown to the Massoretes at Tiberias who worked on the vocalization of the Biblical text hundreds of years after the text had been fixed[4]. Otherwise, not a letter, let alone a word, had to be altered.

As to (*b*), the territory allocated to Ephraim is far smaller, in square miles, that Manasseh's, for the obvious reason that Manasseh was more numerous. The region allocated to Ephraim, however, is easily recognized as having been the most important one from the spiritual as well as from the political and economic point of view. It was the very heart of the country.

Ephraim held the great harbour city at the mouth of the only navigable river in the Western Plain. Ephraimite cities straddled across both international highways, controlling the entire land-traffic between Egypt and the Empires of Western Asia. Ephraimite fortresses protected the entrance into Central Palestine from the south just as Manasseh's fortresses protected the passes in the north.

And, last but not least, it was Ephraim who became the Custodian of the Sanctuary of El-Elohe-Israel, the god who was a father to Israel and who had chosen Ephraim to be his firstborn (Jer. xxxi, 9).

[1] This, incidentally, settles the much disputed though minor question why the chapter describing the boundaries of Ephraim precedes that on the boundaries of Manasseh, though Manasseh was "the firstborn of Joseph" (xvii, 1). Ephraim was the bearer of the birthright in Israel, while Manasseh was only the firstborn of a tribe. Their respective position is paralleled, to a certain extent, by that of Judah and Reuben in later biblical history. It is noteworthy that in the LXX, Ephraim precedes Manasseh also in Josh. xvi, 4, while in the M.T. the order is reversed.

[2] I. Ben-Zvie, *Sefer Hashomronim*, op. cit., p. 57.

[3] See above, Part I (*P.E.Q.*, 1957, p. 58).

[4] See above, pp. 125, 136.

ADDENDA

The following details became known after the previous instalments of this article had been printed:—

I. KASMON (Part IV, *P.E.Q.*, Jan.–June, 1957, p. 65)

"Kasmon" turned up as a place-name in lists from Ras Shamra-Ugarit (cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, Rome, 1955, pp. 133, 281). Conforming with northern pronunciation, the name is written *Ktmn.* Text XIV contains a list of sanctuaries to Ba'al, among them three connected with place-names from south-west Syria (Palestine): *ba'al bt pdy* (XIV, 3), identified by Gordon with the name of a Philistine city-king from Ekron; *ba'al bt trn*, i.e., Sharon (XIV, 7); and *ba'al bt ktmn*, i.e., Kasmon (XIV, 8). Text 301: rev. IV contains a list of what is considered to have been temple servitors. The names *pdy* (no. 15) and *ktmn* (no. 14) turn up again, while *trn* is missing, being replaced by *bn rspy*, i.e., Reshef (no. 17), which fits perfectly into our reconstruction.

The two lists might serve as a hint that mutual trade relations existed between Ugarit and the coastal cities of Palestine to a degree that a sanctuary to Ba'al with one (or more) permanent temple servant was erected or for the benefit of the seafarers, viz., the merchant colony from Kasmon (Sharon, Ekron) who happened to be at Sidon, or *vice versa* (which seems more probable): that the Sidonians kept sanctuaries to Baal for the benefit of their people in these ports, and kingdoms.

II. WADI EL-GHARBI (Postscript to Part IV, *P.E.Q.*, Jan.–June, 1958, p. 32)

A similar change of a river-mouth followed by the transfer of the harbour city to the new place has been observed in the coastal plain of Cyprus, by Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer (oral information by Prof. Schaeffer).

III. MIKHMATH 'AL-PENEI SHECHEM (Part V, *P.E.Q.*, Jan.–June, 1958, pp. 32 ff.)

George Adam Smith describes his view of Shechem in Mt. Ephraim which he saw when sailing on a boat "north of Jaffa": "Two bold round hills break the skyline, with evidence of a deep valley between them. The hills are Ebal and Gerizim, and in the valley, the only real pass across the range, lies . . . ancient Shechem" (*The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 26th ed., London, 1935, pp. 117, 368 f.)

At the time of this observation, Smith must have been at a point directly west and opposite Shechem, viz., the holy region. Drawing a line, on a map, due west from Mt. Gerizim, one ends at Haram Sidna Ali as the most westerly promontory. From its height, the same view may be enjoyed as that so vividly described by the famous geographer—which seems to confirm the identification of *Mikhmath 'al-p^{e}nei Shechem* suggested in this paper.

As to the supposition that a temple to the goddess Anath has stood here, at least in Hellenistic times:

Motivated by the desire to check on Smith's observation, this writer climbed the height of Haram Sidna Ali early one morning before dawn, during the autumn equinox. Suddenly, the sun rose, swiftly, silently and solemnly, exactly between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal. For one brief and unforgettable moment, the golden ball, a perfect round flanked by the two mountains, hovered over the holy region—a cosmic counterpart to the most venerated symbol on the head of the Egyptian goddess Hat-hor: the sun-ball between the horns of the heavenly cow. As is well known, Hat-hor became Ba'alath in Byblos, and in Sinai—i.e., Anath, the "parèdre" of Ba'al-Reshef. Observation of that phenomenon of nature from this height might have been a contributory cause for the erection of a sanctuary to the goddess at just this place.

IV. RIVER QANAH (Part VI, *P.E.Q.*, Jan.–June, 1958, pp. 41 f.)

The supposition of Dr. Loehnberg as to the probable course of the river Qanah is curiously supported by two maps made by officers and engineers of Napoleon I in connection with his campaign in Egypt and Syria, in 1798/99. Reduced copies of these maps could be traced in Paris (the originals seem to have vanished). The one map preserved by the Bibliothèque Nationale—Dept. Cartes et Plans—appeared only in 1818, in Paris. It was made by order of the French Government and based on the plans used by Napoleon corrected according to more recent astronomical observations. The second map, part of which is shown below (fig. 3), is kept at the Min. de la Défense Nationale-Bibliothèque Centrale; it is a reduced copy of the original made in General Kléber's Headquarters in the year 8 of the Revolution (1799).

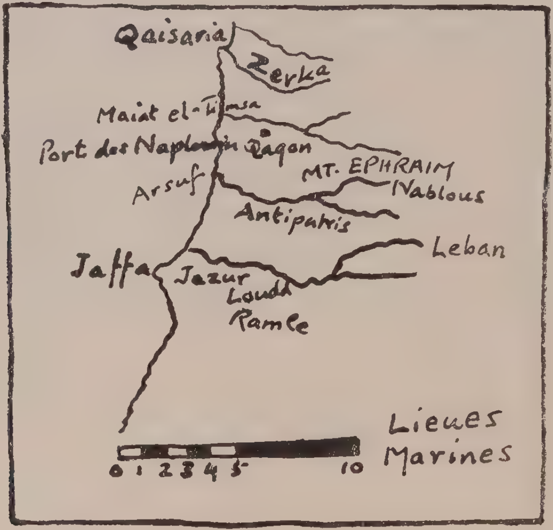

Fig. 3. Physique et Politique de la Syrie pour servir a l'histoire des conquêtes du Général Bonaparte en Orient. Faite au Kaïre en l'An par Charles Paultre, Off^{ier} d'Art^{rie} Légère, Aide de Camp du Général Kléber, Comm^{t} en Chef l'Armée Française en Egypte.

Both maps are exceedingly small-scale—1 : 1,000,000 and smaller. Both, nevertheless, show clearly the river Qanah as a perennial stream north of and parallel to the river Yarkon, and debouching at a place called Arsuf, in both maps.

This, naturally, is but a stroke of extraordinarily good luck. It is proof, however, that changes in river-courses in the Sharon actually took place during the first half of the 19th century A.D.—and, we may safely deduce, innumerable times before. The very considerable change in the river-course between 1799 (1818) and 1852 (map of Robinson/Kiepert) might have been a result of the heavy earthquakes reported for the year 1837 (1838). One of the two most important epicentres of this earthquake was at Nablus and the region of Mt. Gerizim: one-quarter of the city of Nablus was ruined, another quarter severely damaged, and 48 persons were killed. Jaffa reported 3,000 victims and great destruction (D. H. Kallner-Amiram, " A revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine ", *Isr. Expl. Journal* I, 4 [1950/1], pp. 223–246; II, [1952], pp. 48–65). Though no reports were published from the Sharon which, at that time, was a wilderness and swamps, it appeals to reason that watercourses running along geological folds, were affected, and diverted, in that plain.

ERRATUM. In the map on p. 36 (Jan.-June, 1958), the M of MANASSEH appears wrongly in Canaanite territory south of the River Qanah; it should appear, with the remainder of the word, north of the river.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies. By Frank Moore Cross, Jr. Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. 1958. Pp. xix, 196. 4 illustrations. $4·50. (Published in Great Britain by Duckworth, 21*s*.)

This volume presents the Haskell Lectures delivered at the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, in March 1957. Professor Cross is one of the best-known members of the international team engaged on the study of the Qumran documents, and he speaks with knowledge of much that has not yet been published, as well as of the texts to which we all have access. Of the unpublished material he says: " there is much which is of revolutionary import. Positions which must be won now by complicated combinations of bits and tatters of evidence will automatically establish themselves once the vast corpus is laid out for all to see. Certain new documents will sweep away much of the flatulent nonsense now swelling the secondary literature on the scrolls, delivering sober scholars from the burden of continuing controversy, or rather freeing them to enter into new debates " (p. vii). As one who has contributed to the secondary literature of which Dr. Cross speaks, the reviewer hides his diminished head !

There are five lectures, dealing with (1) Discovery of an Ancient Library, (2) The Essenes, the People of the Scrolls, (3) The Righteous Teacher and Essene Origins, (4) The Old Testament at Qumran, (5) The Essenes and the Primitive Church. The text of the lectures has, however, been equipped with an extensive apparatus of footnotes, in which the author provides detailed documentation of the positions which he defends and discusses. While the general reader will enjoy the text, the scholar will be specially grateful for the footnotes.

Dr. Cross (as the titles of two of his lectures indicate) has no doubt that the People of the Scrolls were Essenes, and is prepared to use the Qumran texts as sources for further information about the Essenes to what we learn from ancient writers. Thus, " the Essenes prove to be an apocalyptic community, a *Heilsgemeinschaft*, imitating the ancient desert sojourn of Mosaic times in anticipation of the dawning Kingdom of God. They are priestly apocalyptists, not true ascetics " (p. 56). It is this apocalyptic outlook, for example, which dictated the " ambiguous attitude toward marriage integral to the structure of the Essene faith " (p. 72), an attitude which Dr. Cross finds also in such New Testament passages as Luke xx, 34–36[1] and 1 Cor. vii, 29–31.

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[1] Dr. Cross quotes this logion in its Lukan form (which is most significant for his purpose) but gives the Markan and Matthaean references, not the Lukan one, in the accompanying footnote (p. 74).

On the contribution of the new discoveries to Old Testament textual criticism Dr. Cross has much of importance to say. As is well known by now, the biblical manuscripts at Qumran bear witness to three textual traditions so far as the Pentateuch is concerned, and to two at least in the Prophets. For Jeremiah, to take a particularly interesting example, there are Qumran manuscripts attesting both the longer (proto-Massoretic) recension and the shorter recension which was formerly known only from the Septuagint. It is too early to speak definitely about the text of the Writings at Qumran.

In discussing the historical setting of Qumran origins Dr. Cross has no hesitation in identifying the Kittim of the commentaries and 1QM with the Romans, but dates the career of the Teacher of Righteousness under the second-century Hasmoneans: " it is unlikely that he survived the reign of John Hyrcanus " (p. 117). On the quotation from Josh. vi, 26 in the fragment of the " Psalms of Joshua " which forms the fourth and last section of 4Q *Testimonia*, with its curse on the rebuilder of Jericho and his two sons, he says: " The application of the passage to Simon and his older and younger sons Judas and Mattathias, and their deaths in Jericho is almost too obvious to require comment " (p. 113). But it is noteworthy that several members of the Hasmonean line had two sons, or two outstanding sons: John Hyrcanus had Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus, Jannaeus had Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, Aristobulus II had Alexander and Antigonus. And it might be suggested that the applications to Simon and the two sons who shared his fate is not so obvious as entirely to exclude the possibility that (say) Jannaeus and *his* two sons are intended.

It is interesting to have Dr. Cross's assurance that one unpublished copy of the Damascus document[1] from Cave 4 belongs to the Hasmonean period; this would exclude those theories which date the work in the Herodian or Roman age. " The land of Damascus," he thinks, was simply the community's place of retreat.

In fact, Dr. Cross has something of value to say about almost every aspect of the study of the Scrolls, and presents a well-argued case for each position which he maintains. Without agreeing with all these positions, the reviewer commends the book wholeheartedly to all who take an intelligent interest in the subject.

F.F.B.

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[1] " The Damascus Document," says Dr. Cross, " known otherwise from the old Karaite synagogue of Cairo " (p. 35). The *genizah* of this synagogue certainly contained some Karaite literature, but was it a Karaite synagogue ?

The Message of the Scrolls. By Yigael Yadin, Lecturer in Archaeology at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 7 Cork Street, London, W.1. 1957. Pp. 192. 11 illustrations. 21*s.*

When a specialist writes for the general public so lucidly and interestingly as Dr. Yadin does in this book, his readers may congratulate themselves. So frequently it happens that what is reliable is unintelligible to them, while what is intelligible is unreliable. Here is an account of the discovery and significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls which is reliable (of course, considering who the author is) and at the same time not merely intelligible but enjoyable.

In describing the acquisition of the Scrolls now in the possession of the Hebrew University, Dr. Yadin makes copious quotations from the diary of his father, the late Professor Sukenik, who did so much to secure for the University the second Isaiah scroll, the War scroll and the Thanksgivings scroll. Professor Sukenik hoped also to secure the four scrolls which the Syrian Monastery of St. Mark had obtained, but his efforts in this direction were doomed to disappointment. " Thus the Jewish people have lost a precious heritage," he wrote, and this was still his belief at the time of his lamented death in 1953. But next year his son was able to play a leading part in the purchase of these further scrolls when they were advertised for sale in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 1, 1954. He tells the full story here; it has its moments of comedy.

After a short account of the Qumran caves, the community building, the cemetery and the Murabba‘at archives, Dr. Yadin describes the condition and contents of the scrolls one by one. When he comes to the War scroll and the Genesis *apocryphon* he goes into more detail, as he was the first to engage in the examination and decipherment of these two. He regards the War scroll, in particular, as " so important to the understanding of the Dead Sea sect and their way of life that it is impossible to reach any definite conclusions about the sect without a thorough study of this scroll " (p. 13). A short chapter follows on the copper scrolls from Cave 3, but he does not express any firm opinion on their significance.

The closing chapter deals with " The Date of the Scrolls and the Identification of the Sect." For the date of the scrolls he prefers the first century B.C. or the first half of the first century A.D.; as for the sect, either it " is none other than the Essenes themselves; or it was a sect which resembled the Essenes in almost every respect, its dwelling place, its organization, its customs " (pp. 185 f.). He notes the significance of the facts on which Dr. Teicher bases his identification of the sect with the Ebionites, although he does not accept that identification. But when he says that the destruction of the Temple was " a death-blow to the Ebionites, and brought about an end to the experiment of a Jewish-Christian sect " (p. 186), we can only commend to him a course of study (if such a busy man may be supposed to have the necessary leisure for such a thing !) in the pseudo-Clementine literature, together with H. J. Schoeps's *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums.*

F.F.B.

Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament. I: *Le nomadisme et ses survivances; institutions familiales; institutations civiles.* By R. de Vaux, O.P. Les Éditions du Cerf, 19, boulevard Latour-Maubourg, Paris. 1958. Pp. 347. 990 fr.

The annotated translation of the Bible entitled *La Bible de Jérusalem*, prepared by members of the École Biblique, has won well-deserved commendation from biblical students throughout the world. In conjunction with it, a series of *Études Annexes* is now being issued, dealing with various aspects of biblical criticism, history, geography, theology and so forth. One of these studies is a French translation of Professor Albright's Pelican volume on *The Archaeology of Palestine.* Another is this work by Père de Vaux on Old Testament institutions, the first volume of which deals with nomadism, family life and civil institutions. The second volume will deal with the military and religious institutions.

Under nomadism Père de Vaux treats the tribal organization, tribal warfare, the laws of hospitality and asylum, tribal solidarity and blood-vengeance, together with survivals of nomadism into the period of the settlement such as are found in popular idiom, in the prophetic portrayal of the " ideal nomad," and in the Rechabite clan.

Family life is dealt with more fully, as the author surveys the character and solidarity of the family in ancient Israel, the institution of marriage, the position of women, the birth, naming, circumcision and rearing of children, laws of succession and inheritance, death and the ensuing funeral rites. There are some interesting observations on the *go'el*, particularly with regard to his part in the levirate marriage; parallels to the latter institution are noted among the Assyrians, Hittites, Hurrians and (possibly) Elamites. But, as might be expected in a work by Père de Vaux, wherever parallels to Hebrew institutions have been brought to light by archaeology, they are mentioned here; that is so, for example, with regard to the laws of adoption and inheritance, where the evidence from Nuzu is adduced.

Over two-thirds of the book, however, deal with the civil institutions of Israel in Old Testament days. Questions of demography and population, the evolution of the various strata in the free citizen body, the status of slaves, the conception of the state, the monarchy with its establishment and administration, public finance, law and justice, economics, the calendar, weights and measures—all are treated lucidly and authoritatively, and Père de Vaux has a mind of his own to express on the interesting problems that arise in connection with all. " The idea of a royal cult, in which the king took the place of God at certain festivals, is founded on nothing but conjectures" (p. 172). The king's relation of sonship to God is one of adoption. The sacerdotal functions of the kingship are strictly limited to special occasions; as for the text "Thou art a priest for ever" in Psalm cx, 4, "it signifies that the king is priest, but priest in the [restricted] manner in which an Israelite king could be priest . . . in the manner in which Melchizedek had been king and priest of this Jerusalem in which a new king was now being enthroned" (p. 176). The discussion of the calendar takes into account the latest evidence from Qumran and its interpretation by Mlle. A. Jaubert.

There is a good, up-to-date bibliography. The work, when completed by the second volume, will supply the Bible student with an invaluable aid to the understanding of the Old Testament.

F.F.B.

Geschichte Israels von den Anfängen biz zur Zerstörung des Tempels (70 *n. Chr.*). By Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich. Sammlung Göschen Band 231/231a. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Genthinerstr. 13, Berlin, W.35. 1958. Pp. 158. Paper covers, DM 4.80.

To compress the history of Israel from the patriarchal age to the end of the Second Commonwealth within the limits of one volume of the *Sammlung Göschen* is a *tour de force* which Dr. Ehrlich has achieved with remarkable success. Like the other volumes in this series, his work is intended for the non-specialist, and he has certainly provided a useful and reliable introduction for the general reader to the history of Israel. His narrative is based throughout on primary sources, both biblical and extra-biblical, including those uncovered by archaeological research. There is a short account of the Qumran sect on pp. 125 ff.

His account of Israel in the Persian period is of special interest. He follows Schaeder in regarding Ezra as secretary of state for Jewish affairs at the Persian court, and considers that the genuineness of the decree of Ezra 7 : 12–26 is not to be doubted. He points out that mixed marriages constituted a problem in Athens and Rome as well as in Judaea around Ezra's time, but is hardly right in saying (p. 84) that mixed marriages were not forbidden in Israel until the period of the monarchy. The chronological relation of Ezra and Nehemiah is not yet, he thinks, *chose jugée*, although he summarizes H. H. Rowley's arguments, by which he is obviously impressed.

On p. 58 "Tab-el" should be "Ben-Tab-el." On p. 108 Onias IV, founder of the temple at Leontopolis, is said to have been a nephew of Menelaus, but on p. 100 we have already been told (rightly) that Menelaus "did not belong at all to the old high-priestly family of the Oniads."

F.F.B.

Antiquity and Survival, Vol. II, No. 2–3, 1957. *The Holy Land, New Light on the Prehistory and Early History of Israel*, published in co-operation with the Hebrew University, Department of Antiquities, Israel Exploration Society. Pp. 317. Illustrated. Subs. £2 6*s*. Obtainable in Great Britain from Luzac and Co. Ltd.

Introduced by the President of the State of Israel, the latest number of *Antiquity and Survival* contains fifteen separate articles chiefly by Israeli scholars, followed by abstracts of the subject matter in French, German, Spanish, Italian and Dutch. Edited in Jerusalem and printed in the Hague, it is not surprising that misprints have crept in, though they in no way detract from the courageous intention to present the material to a wide range of nationalities.

The contributions are arranged chronologically, beginning with M. Jean Perrot's account of recent discoveries at Eynan, where he found a unique circular tomb containing burials of Mesolithic age. The Director of the Department of Antiquities, S. Yeivin, states his case for Israel as the birthplace of civilization in the Near East, from which point in time before the fifth millennium B.C., we are asked to leap forward one and a half millennia to the problematical Hyksos age. M. Dothan discusses religious life during ' Hyksos ' rule based on excavations at the seaside shrine of Nahariya, south of Tyre.

Dr. Y. Aharoni in *Problems of the Israelite Conquest* contributes two instructive maps on Canaanite and Israelite sites in Upper Galilee, in relation to the movements of the latter at the time of settlement. It is a sign of these times that Dr. Aharoni does not seem aware that Glueck's theory concerning long intervals in permanent settlement in Jordan, particularly between the twentieth and thirteenth century B.C. was disproved five years ago with the publication of a Middle Bronze Age Tomb at Amman (PEF Annual VI, " Four Tomb Groups from Jordan," by G. Lankester Harding, pp. 14 f.).

A favourite problem among archaeologists is discussed by Mrs. Dothan, who provides a well-reasoned summary of Philistine pottery forms and their eclectic traditions in relation to anthropoid coffins. As excavations proceed at Hazor, where two full seasons had been completed when his article was written, Dr. Y. Yadin will certainly add an important chapter to knowledge of the material culture of Upper Galilee, and his contribution is in the nature of an interim report. Pottery (Mrs. R. B. K. Amiran), Glass (P. P. Kahane), Coins (Arie Kindler) are subjects of special research, treated by experts.

An Apocryphal Genesis Scroll in Aramaic provides a summary of a more detailed account now published by N. Avigad and Y. Yadin of this most fascinating version of stories from Genesis, while the former writer also discusses the Beth-She'arim Necropolis. The photographs accompanying this and following articles on *Places of Worship in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (M. Avi-Yonah), and on various aspects of field exploration in southern

Palestine—partly the result of archaeological forays during the Suez crisis—are delightful and well illustrate the bleak charm of the Sinai peninsula.

OLGA TUFNELL.

Mélanges Louis Massignon: published under the auspices of the Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Paris and the French Institute of Damascus. Tome III. Damascus, 1957. Pp. 484.

Here is the third Volume of *Mélanges* in grateful honour of our leading European Islamologist. We have not seen the second *Tome* but if it is on the same level as the first and this third, it must be very good. The inspiration of a great man " availeth much." In reviewing the former collection of articles the hope was expressed that in the continuation of the work there might be found writers who preferred to express themselves in another European language than French, if only to show the genuine catholicity of the orientalists' debt and devotion to " Le Professeur." We are glad that German and British scholars respectively have been enabled to join in this linguistic homage through the contributions of E. Littmann and L. Strauss. There are others too who have shared in this international enterprise—Professors Pedersen from Denmark and Maqdisi from Michigan. We can hardly be too thankful that this volume, in the best tradition of French culture and scholarship, has come from Damascus during this period of the eclipse of French political relationships with the countries of the Near East. How happy Louis Massignon must be that articles written in Algiers are printed in Damascus ! Those scholars who have gathered together to do him honour may well have blazed the trail to better things, while they have at least emphasized that cultural relationships are more lasting than political—something perhaps truer of French scholarship than that of other European countries. The note of gratitude here is heartfelt. As in the previous volume, the essays cover a wide area in Islamic studies. They are of somewhat unequal length. One was given in substance at the International Congress in Cambridge in 1954.

Several of the articles have Plates for illustration and it will not be invidious to say how different readers will be wandering round Aleppo or in Persian cities once again. There is more for the student of history and *Hadīth;* for any interested in the *mystique* of the *zār* there is something from Cairo; other subjects range from a late seventeenth century *Ihtisāb* in Istanbul to a dissertation on the " Hanbalite Faith." Others will appreciate Fārābī's estimate of Plato. There seems more actual text in this *Tome* as will be illustrated in the decree of a *Mamlūk* Sultān, or in documents relating to the ministers of Abbāsid Khalīfas. There are other familiar names—*Ibn Qutayba* and *Tirmidhī* and *Ibn Tūmart*—the last named's " Treasure of Learning " constituting a little known synthesis of Revelation with Philosophy. The " Page of Traditions " from the third century A. H. on papyrus has little bits of interest with its allusion to the " one who is not steadfast or humble at Morning Worship," whatever *qunūt* should actually mean. Here is a fitting reminder of Massignon's *Bādiliyya*. But these volumes are among the unreviewable in short compass, though the common thread in nearly all is the connection with Massignon. The range of his learning and devotion has lasted into the scholarship of pupils known and unknown. In all, twenty-two such have shared in making this *Tome*. It would be good for readers not only to recognize the obvious erudition, but to be aware of the posts or spheres where each of the contributors is working. If there is another Part to come, perhaps this slight defect might be remedied.

E. F. F. Bishop.

Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage. By Janine Sourdel-Thomine. Damas, 1957. Printed by the Catholic Press in Beirut. Pp. 232.

Another welcome production from the French Institute of Damascus. Sourdel-Thomine has translated, with copious notes, the thirteenth century work of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi Bakr known as Al-Harawī, who passed away in Aleppo early in that century. The Translation has all the symptoms of being as careful as the original, besides constituting another of those fruits of scholarship which demonstrate the fact that learning and culture are less ephemeral than politics in any age or clime. There are helpful maps and an Introduction with a full bibliography occupying 58 pages, followed by a summary of the contents in which the places visited are listed. These cover what we have come to call the Near East (surely mistakenly from more than one view-point the Middle East). As the countries are this mid-century they include Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, ' Iraq, the Hijāz and Yemen. Al-Harawī has something to say (learned in private research) about well over the hundred places of his pilgrimage. Many of these are yet familiar haunts. In argument the Arab is wont to proceed in his discussions from the known to the unknown, from what there is to agree over to what betokens disagreement. The same sort of argument would hold good here. There is so much that rings true (whether fact or fiction) to what one hears today about many of the localities mentioned and their traditions that the reader not (yet) acquainted with other spots naturally inclines to listen to and accept the information or verdict of al-Harawī. At the same time he will be grateful for the phrase occurring at the close of a discussion to the effect that " God knows better." Here again we are on familiar ground. Al-Harawī shows himself a devout and well-travelled Muslim scholar.

From Aleppo southwards and eastwards the memories of Abraham begin. The road thence to Damascus has seen millions of pilgrims through Ma'arra and Homs and the detour through Ba'albak—the great Temple exciting the same admiration in al-Harawī as in Nelson Glueck. In the capital of Syria itself the great mosque with its connections with John the Baptist and Saladin roused similar feelings for James Morris as for the pilgrim scholar so long ago. Al-Harawī accepted, it seems, the meeting of Bahīra with the young Muhammad, though modern scholarship would regard it as doubtful. Jericho, Tiberias, Banias, Hittin, Kafr Kanna (connected with Jonah in Al-Harawī's day) and Nazareth, the home of Mary daughter of 'Imran—Nazareth which gave the Christians the name *Nasāra* ! Retracing his steps he visited Beirut (where was the tomb of al-Awza'i, who came near to being founder of a Law School) and down to Nāblus (where the Jews of the time placed the sacrifice of Isaac), and where he spent some time since the places in the immediate vicinity are well to the fore. So on to Jerusalem through memories of Joseph and Joshua, through Singil (about the only place name in the country recalling the Crusades, with St. Giles). Jerusalem is fully documented and we are grateful to this Muslim worthy for his reference to the sepulchre as *al-Qiyāma* (thd Resurrection). Southwards to Hebron and Abraham the Friend once more. We are glad too that he went to 'Amwās, though mentioning it in connection with the plague which decimated the Companions in the first Arab armies of invasion, not in connection with the Gospel story. Al-Harawī took the route to Egypt through Ascalon, where his " Palestine Explorations " finished which we are glad both to appreciate and to applaud.

E. F. F. Bishop.

Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte. By Julius Wellhausen. Neunte Auflage. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958. Pp. 371, DM 19.80.

Geschichte Israels. By Martin Noth. Dritte, durchgesehene Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1956. Pp. 435, 4 maps.

Die Welt des Alten Testaments. Einführung in die Grenzgebiete der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft. By Martin Noth. Dritte Auflage. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann. 1957. Pp. xv, 320, 4 plates. DM 20.50.

Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament. By Martin Noth. (Theologische Bücherei, Band 6). München: Christian Kaiser. 1957. Pp. 306. DM 10.–.

The very fact that a *ninth* edition has just been published of Wellhausen's *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* is sufficient evidence of the interest this book still holds for readers of the present generation. Wellhausen's greatly condensed presentation of pre-exilic Israelite history may not in every respect be ' up to date '; archaeological discoveries as well as documentary finds made since the book was written compel scholars to-day to revise their attitude to some of Julius Wellhausen's earlier propositions. However, the essential value of this book, as one of pre-exilic Israel's social history, remains.

Eight of the book's 24 chapters, and about one third of its contents, deal with Jewish history in Hasmonaean and post-Hasmonaean times. Discoveries in recent years affecting our outlook on Jewish history in this period are particularly numerous. The reader will then naturally speculate how Wellhausen's *Geschichte* presents itself in the light of modern fuller knowledge of the tendencies and events from this era. The Dead Sea Scrolls which will necessitate the re-writing of many books *confirm* the correctness of Wellhausen's critical analysis and his assessment of the causes of the Maccabaean revolt, of the internal divisions within the Jewish body politic, and of the course of the Hasmonaean reigns. Considerable as the additional information is to-day, hardly any facts have emerged that would significantly alter Wellhausen's outlook on this period of Jewish history. The simplicity and clarity of style in which the book is written will contribute to the readers' enjoyment to-day no less than to that of the author's contemporaries.

Martin Noth's great historical work on *Israel's History* covers the time from the conquest of Canaan to the suppression of Ben Kosebah's revolt. It extends Wellhausen's frame in so far as it includes the period from the year 70 to 135 of our era. Of chief interest is Noth's detailed treatment of the era of Israel's beginnings, of the nation's relations to her neighbours, and generally of the period prior to the institution of the monarchy. The advance of knowledge both as regards the localities in which the scene of Israel's early history is set and of the language in which this history has been recorded has opened up new vistas which have enabled Noth to see the similarity and connection of ancient Israel with other nations in the Near East, without, however, obscuring his view for the unique features that distinguish this people's history from that of others.

Noth's book is now available in a good English translation[1]. A reference to the original edition may nonetheless be welcome.

Fundamentally the same subject as in *Geschichte Israels* is that of Noth's *Die Welt des Alten Testaments*. Here, however, greater stress is laid on the importance of the *Hilfswissenschaften* to aid correct historical understanding of the traditions that lie behind our records. The topographic features of Palestine, the country's geological characteristics, its flora and fauna, its pre-history, the origin of place names, the yield of archaeological research—these are topics to which Noth pays no less attention than to the documentary, that is literary, evidence which we possess. Unobtrusively the author explains to his readers environmental factors and causes that influenced the institutional forms of Israel's national life, in particular Israel's primary institutions from

[1] M. Noth, *The History of Israel*. Translated from the second German edition. A. and C. Black, London. 1958.

the pre-monarchical era, i.e. from the time after the settlement in Palestine and the formation of a federation—or league—of twelve tribes (called by Noth an *amphictyony*, that is a system of voluntary coalition of twelve originally separate and distinct political entities). Yet the span of Noth's review is the widest possible: the reader will find in this book information about facts and events that have a bearing on the history and the beliefs of peoples who inhabited the region stretching from Armenia in the North to Himyarite Arabia in the South. Noth's is easily the most comprehensive work on the setting of Israelite history within the world of the ancient Near East. It would be an inviting task, though not a simple one, to translate the book into English.

The third of Noth's books here mentioned contains a collection of essays that were written at various times. Readers in Great Britain will probably be most interested in the author's searching study on " The Laws in the Pentateuch " and in his critical observations on the vexed problem of sacred kingship, " God, King and Nation in the Old Testament," a reprint from the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. Besides these studies, there is an important inquiry on the origin of the concept and the term *berith* (" The Form of Entering a Covenant in the Light of a Text from Mari ") and uncommon observations on Daniel vii (" The Saints of the Most High ").

PAUL WINTER.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1958

The 92nd Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1, on July 2, 1958, at 5.30 p.m. (Canon C. B. Mortlock in the Chair).

The Honorary Secretary, Dr. J. Waechter read the Minutes of the 91st Annual Meeting, which were received and approved by the meeting and signed by the Chairman.

The Chairman opened the meeting by paying tribute to the retired Chairman, Mr. FitzGerald. All present, he said, would regret that after being a subscriber for many years and Chairman for the past three years, Mr. FitzGerald had been compelled by ill-health to resign the chairmanship although still remaining a member of the Executive. He was sure they all hoped that the reported improvement of Mr. FitzGerald's sight would continue until it returned to normal. Canon Mortlock, formerly Vice-Chairman, expressed his appreciation of the honour of being elected Chairman in succession to Mr. FitzGerald. He was addressing the meeting in that capacity today.

During the year the Fund had lost two of its prominent members, one a member of the Executive, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, the other Mrs. Crowfoot, well known to everyone connected with the Fund and with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Tributes to their memory had already been published in the Quarterly.

Professor S. H. Hooke, after 25 years as Editor of the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, had passed his duties on to Professor Bruce. He had been deeply touched by the dedication to him of the January number.

Dr. Kathleen Kenyon had completed her final year at Jericho, and would lecture to subscribers to the Fund as well as the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Academy, at a meeting of the British Academy on the 16th July. Invitations had already been sent out.

As a result of the lectures given last year, to which many schools and colleges not already subscribers had been invited, Mrs. Putnam, the Assistant Secretary, reported that greater use had been made of the library by students. It was hoped that many of them would eventually become subscribers.

The Honorary Treasurer, Mr. O. H. Thompson, presented the accounts for the year, and reported that £250 had been granted from the Nuffield Trust towards the cost of the *Quarterly*. Sales of the Fund's own publications had added to its income for the year, and despite the very heavy expenditure for the third volume of *Samaria-Sebaste*, the year ended with a working balance of £374.

There being no questions arising out of the accounts, the Hon. Treasurer moved their adoption. This was seconded by Professor Driver and the meeting having approved, the accounts were duly signed.

On the election of officers the Chairman announced that Dr. Barnett had proposed the election to the Executive Committee of Mr. C. N. Johns, who had been a subscriber for a great many years. Professor Driver seconded the proposal, which was unanimously approved.

Miss Tufnell proposed that the Rev. Professor J. M. Plumley also be invited to join the Executive. This proposal was accepted as a notice of motion and referred to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

All other members of the Executive Committee were duly re-elected for the coming year by unanimous vote of the meeting.

The Chairman desired to associate the meeting with his appreciation of the devoted service of the small office staff and in particular that of Mrs. Putnam, the Assistant Secretary.

The Auditors, Messrs. Turquand Youngs, were willing to serve for the ensuing year.

Professor Bruce, Editor of the *Quarterly*, was then introduced to the meeting and gave the anniversary lecture, entitled " Some Problems of the Qumran Scrolls."

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1957

1956 £		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Capital:		
	Authorised—200 Shares of £1 each ..	200 0 0	
	Issued—9 Shares of £1 each, not called..	—	—
	Surplus of Assets over Liabilities: (Excluding donated property)		
2,845	Amount as per last Balance Sheet ..	3,136 5 2	
291	*Add:* Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	374 0 6	
3,136			3,510 5 8
	Current Liabilities:		
378	Sundry Creditors for Current Expenses	280 11 9	
73	Subscriptions in advance	107 11 4	
63	Rent received in advance	—	
882	Donations toward cost of Publication	882 8 10	
			1,270 11 11
£4,532			£4,780 17 7

(Signed) C. B. Mortlock, *Chairman.*
Oliver H. Thompson, *Hon. Treasurer.*

1956 £			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Fixed Assets:			
	Freehold Property—Donated: No. 2, Hinde Street (estimated value £5,000)			—
	Alterations and Improvements:			
1,189	No. 2, Hinde Street at net book value 1st July, 1948			1,188 17 5
382	Museum, Library and Storeroom, Fixtures, Fittings, Furniture, etc., at net book value 1st July, 1948 ..			382 2 7
	Typewriter at cost		39 10 0	
	Less: Depreciation to date		31 10 0	
11				8 0 0
	Projector at cost		41 13 0	
—	*Less:* Depreciation		4 13 0	
				37 0 0
—	Otzar Hityashvuth Hayehudim B.M. Israeli £250 Ordinary Stock (Registered) Donated			—
—	Jewish Colonial Trust—Donated: 50 Ordinary Shares of 2s. 6d. each, fully paid			—
1,582				1,616 0 0
	Current Assets:			
11	Subscriptions in arrear		28 6 6	
	Investments—Post Office Issue—at cost—	£		
	£374 12s. 0d. 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 or after ..	400		
	£50 3% Savings Bonds 1955-65	50		
	£264 1s. 8d. 2½% Savings Bonds 1964-67	250		
	£300 3½% Defence Bonds ..	300		
	£100 2½% Defence Bonds ..	100		
1,100	(Market Value £891—1956 £925)		1,100 0 0	
78	Sundry Debtors		60 0 0	
384	Cash at Bank on Current Account and in hand		398 16 5	
1,350	Cash at Bank on Deposit Account ..		1,550 0 0	
27	Cash on Deposit—Post Office Savings Bank		27 14 8	
				3,164 17 7
£4,532				£4,780 17 7

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expenditure Account which are in agreement with the Fund's books of account and we have obtained all the information and explanations which, to the best of our knowledge and belief, were necessary for the purposes of our audit. Proper books of account have been kept by the Fund, so far as appears from our examination thereof.

In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the said Accounts give the information required by the Companies Act, 1948, in the manner required and present a true and fair view of the state of affairs as at 31st December, 1957, and of the excess of Income over Expenditure for the year.

(Signed) TURQUAND, YOUNGS & CO.,

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1957

1956 £		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
705	Printing—Quarterly	762	8	8			
23	Miscellaneous	28	12	3			
728		791	0	11			
60	*Less:* Contribution by British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem	60	0	0			
668					731	0	11
1	Library				15	17	0
605	Salaries, Wages and Pensions				610	4	0
40	Repairs				270	0	11
26	Insurance				25	19	6
112	Rates				73	11	0
42	Lighting and Heating				55	1	9
57	Postage and Telephone				59	2	9
57	Stationery and Sundries				56	18	6
11	Audit Fee				10	10	0
3	Depreciation on Typewriter				3	10	0
—	Depreciation on Projector				4	13	0
291	Balance being excess of Income over Expenditure				374	0	6
	Note: £105 has been included in respect of remuneration to a member of the Executive Committee.						
£1,913					£2,290	9	10

1956 £		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
787	Subscriptions and Donations including local societies				848	5	5
—	Nuffield Grant towards cost of quarterly				250	0	0
59	Refund of Income Tax on Covenanted Subscriptions				73	7	11
289	Sales of Publications				308	18	0
725	Rents				725	0	0
	Dividends Received—Gross:						
	On £374 12s. 3½% Conversion Loan	13	2	2			
	On £50 3% Savings Bonds 1955-65	1	10	0			
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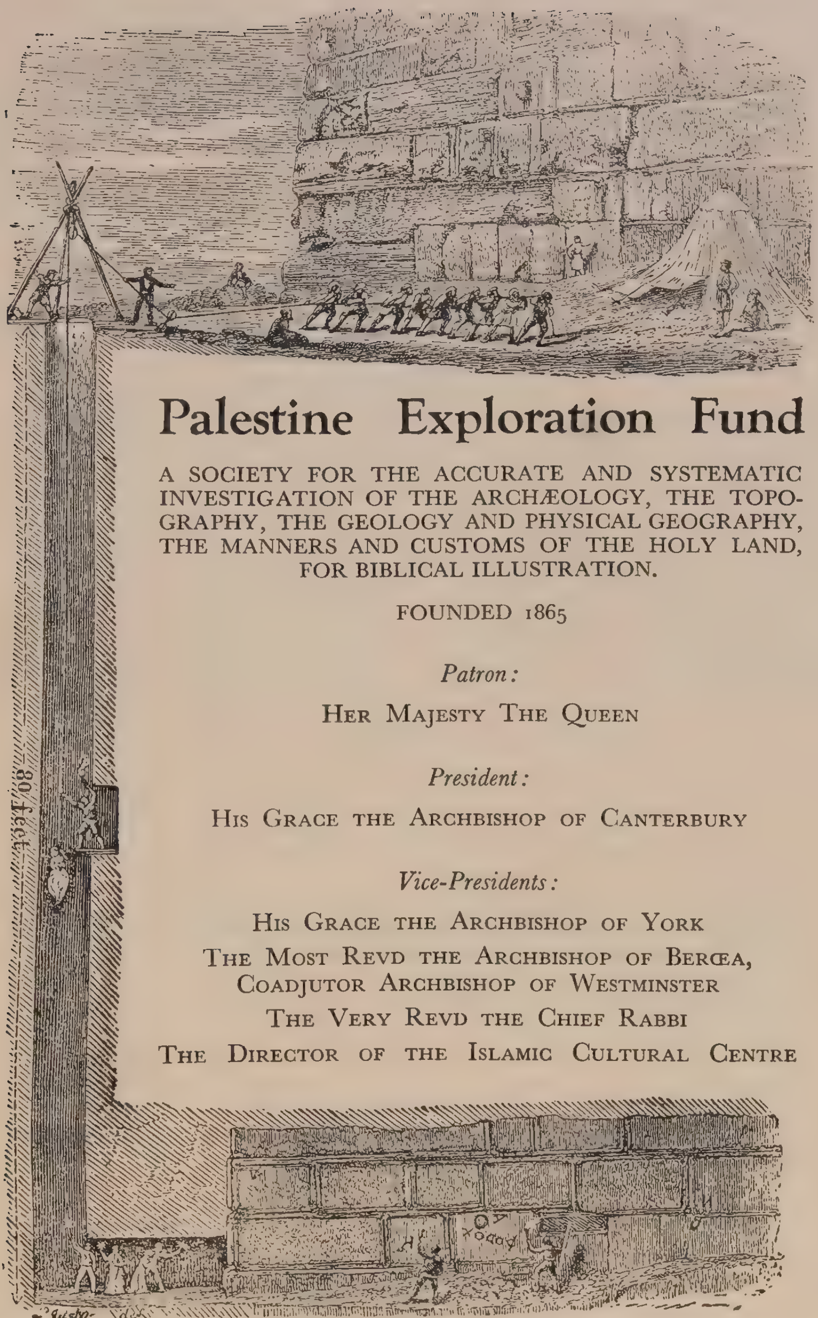

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

In January–June, 1957, as readers will remember, Mr. Peter J. Parr contributed to the *Quarterly* an interesting and well-illustrated account of "Recent Discoveries at Petra"—dealing with pieces of sculpture and architectural fragments unearthed during work of conservation conducted at Petra in 1954 by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities. Since then, Mr. Parr has always entertained the idea of returning to Petra in order to conduct proper excavations, and the opportunity for doing so has recently arrived. The work has the official backing of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, of which Mr. Parr is Secretary-Librarian. The primary object of the excavations, as we said in our last number, is to obtain a full and closely-dated type-series of Nabataean and Roman pottery, though the minor architectural remains of Petra would also be studied. In Mr. Parr's opinion, a detailed knowledge of the painted Nabataean pottery and related wares is essential before further archaeological research can be attempted in this field. Apart from Petra itself, southern Jordan is covered with Nabataean sites, most of them still untouched; the large-scale excavation of some of these is a pressing need, but should not be attempted until our knowledge of the pottery is far less vague than it is at present.

During Mr. Parr's six-month stay in Petra in 1954, he noted several areas within the city which would repay excavation. In many places there are undisturbed stratified archaeological deposits, two to four metres in depth, in some cases sealed by the main Roman paved street. It is proposed to dig soundings in one or two of these areas, paying particular attention to the recording of levels rather than to area excavation. To judge from the number of well-preserved and datable coins which are always to be found on the surface at Petra, it is practically certain that from these soundings a securely dated type-series of pottery can be obtained.

From January 25 to March 21, 1958, excavations were carried out at ʿAin Feshkha, 3 kilometres south of Khirbet Qumrān, by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, with the collaboration of the École Biblique et Archéologique and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Père de Vaux acted as technical director of operations.

These excavations uncovered a building which was smaller than Khirbet Qumrān but evidently had a similar history. It was put up towards the end of the 2nd century B.C., and was abandoned during the last decades of the 1st century B.C., to be reoccupied from the beginning of the Christian era until the Jewish revolt of A.D. 66–70, when it was at least partially burned. It was later occupied by insurgents in the revolt of A.D. 132–135. Two openings on the east side of the building led into an inner court surrounded by rooms serving various purposes. To the south was a large paved enclosure, possibly used for drying dates. North of the building was a large courtyard, half of which was occupied by a system of water-channels and reservoirs—apparently designed not for domestic or ceremonial ablutions but for industrial purposes, conceivably for the preparation of leather. The whole structure appears to have been a branch of Khirbet Qumrān, an agricultural centre for the tending of date-palms, flocks, and so forth.

Volume IV of *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Publications of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem) is a symposium entitled *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited on behalf of the Institute of Jewish Studies in the Faculty of Humanities by Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin (Magnes Press, 1958). The volume, which is written in English, is dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Sukenik. One of the contributions, Dr. Yadin's study of "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews", has been mentioned earlier in "Notes and News" (January–June, 1958, p. 5). A number of the other contributions deal with linguistic aspects of the scrolls. Thus E. Y. Kutscher identifies the idiom of the Genesis apocryphon as the written Aramaic of Judaea in the 1st century B.C., or perhaps the 1st century A.D. The language of the Hebrew scrolls is treated by M. H. Goshen-Gottstein ("Linguistic Structure and Tradition in the Qumrān Documents"), Z. Ben-Hayyim ("Traditions in the Hebrew Language with Special Reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls") and C. Rabin ("The Historical Background of Qumrān Hebrew"). Dr. Rabin defends the thesis that Mishnaic Hebrew owes its full emancipation to the social revolution involved in the break between Pharisaism and the Qumrān sect. N. Avigad deals with the palaeography of the scrolls and concludes that, thanks to the abundance of material now available, Hebrew palaeography is rapidly approaching the status of a scientific discipline. While absolute chronology is still uncertain as compared with relative chronology, such dated texts as those found at Murabba'at have helped towards a more satisfactory situation. M. H. Segal dates the War Scroll in the reign of John Hyrcanus, but his reply to Dr. Yadin's arguments for a later dating is far from overthrowing it. S. Talmon continues his investigation of the Qumrān calendar; he maintains that the "sons of light" can be identified only with a historical movement distinguished by a time calculation varying from that accepted in rabbinic tradition, and points out that the Essenes are not reported to have followed such a calculation—

unless the Essenes are to be identified (as in the theory of Y. M. Grintz) with the Boethusians [? Beth-(E)sin], for the Boethusians are known to have differed from the rabbis in calendrical matters. Jacob Licht analyses the section in the Manual of Discipline which speaks of the two spirits, and finds an exposition of dualistic principles within a predestinarian framework. David Flusser examines the relation between the Dead Sea sect and pre-Pauline Christianity, and discovers points of contact too numerous and too significant to be explained away as incidental. He recognizes also points of cleavage: " the theological structure of the Sect was taken apart and the stones re-used by early Christian thinkers to build a new and different house. Much other material also went into the construction of this new and larger edifice: both stones taken from other ancient houses (Greek and Jewish) and stones hewn out of truly original unprecedented Christian religious experience. The material was not only collected, but fused, refashioned and enriched by the impact of the personality and teaching of Jesus and the tremendous creative forces unleashed by the new faith. The one important instance is the Christology of the new religion, which has no true parallel. Therefore research on the Dead Sea Scrolls will never replace the study of Christian origins, but it will help us to understand some important aspects of early Christianity " (pp. 265 f.).

An unexpected archaeological discovery was reported from Jaffa in September last. During the third consecutive season of excavation of the site Shetach Gadol, Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions were uncovered which are believed to belong to the reign of Rameses II (1301–1234 B.C.). Associated with these inscriptions is a fortified settlement probably of the same period. We look forward with interest to further information about this interesting find.

Also in September two other discoveries were reported, which, although they do not belong to Palestinian archaeology, are yet of considerable importance to all who are interested in the ancient history of the Near East. From Persia comes the report that the exact location of the sepulchre of Cyrus the Great has been identified by Dr. Ali Sami, curator of Persepolis, near Meshhed i Murghab, the ancient Pasargadae. The mausoleum, rising above the plain on six limestone steps, is well known. When Dr. Sami visited it last summer, he saw a small tree growing out of the stone slabs of the gabled roof. Climbing up, he discovered a hole in the roof masonry through which he crawled, and inside at cornice level he found a burial vault with two funerary chambers cut 3 feet deep into the stone, presumably to receive the bodies of Cyrus and his queen. Each chamber was 12 feet long and 3 feet broad. They were joined by a narrow passage, but were quite empty, having been robbed of their contents in the 7th century A.D. Dr. Sami believes that the main chamber in the mausoleum contained only effigies of the royal pair and burial treasure.

The other report concerns the discovery of the site of Sardis, the capital of King Croesus of Lydia, whom Cyrus overthrew there in 546 B.C. An archaeological expedition from Harvard and Cornell Universities, under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research, identified its ruins beneath those of a Roman city which had been uncovered earlier in the summer. " This ", said Professor A. M. Detweiler, President of the Schools, " is what we have been looking for "—and it was found when the expedition was on the point of packing up for the season and leaving. " The prospect for the next two years ", he adds in the October issue of *B.A.S.O.R.* (No. 151), " looks very, very good, at least as far as archaeology is concerned."

The Samaritan Seminar at Leeds University, to which we made reference in our last number, has completed the translation of the whole of Cowley's *Samaritan Liturgy*, under the direction of Dr. John Bowman, Head of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures (who contributes an article in the Samaritan field to this issue of the *Quarterly*). It is hoped to publish the translated *Liturgy* before long; this publication will be an important addition to Palestinian literature. It is exactly fifty years since Cowley's edition was published. " This work ", writes Dr. Bowman, " was recognized by scholars as of fundamental importance, but the language is very difficult and Cowley gives only a small word list; also it is very difficult to find from Cowley's edition what were the orders of contents of the respective Sabbath services. I only got a clue to this in 1952, when I spent three months in Israel and most evenings visited the Samaritans.

" I showed them Cowley's texts as set out for the Sabbath Services and they thought they were in a mixed-up order. However, I obtained the present-day order from them, and with this clue I was able to make sense of Cowley's Sabbath services. I was able to show that the present-day order of Sabbath services was known in MSS of several hundred years ago, as a basis for the festival services; but it is impossible from his edition to realize how great a part the reading of the Law played in the services. Likewise he does not give any of the Qatafim characteristic development of the Samaritans, which enables them to read the whole Law in digest form for the Sabbath morning service. I believed that Cowley's MSS would have to be re-investigated, and other MSS, not available to him, examined.

" We have been working in our Seminars on the Samaritan Liturgy, for the last eight years. We have however, come to the conclusion that all the texts Cowley does use are accurate, and therefore our translation is a companion volume to Cowley's two volumes Of course, it would be essential in the prefaces to show how, when and where the texts are used and to give adequate examples of the place of the Law and Qatafim in the services.

" The Samaritan Liturgy has an unbroken tradition from at least the 4th century A.D. In the case of some pieces and the reading of the law, we can perhaps claim that they go back to the time of the Samaritan Temple on Gerizim, which John Hyrcanus destroyed at the end of the 2nd century B.C.

" The language of the Samaritan Liturgy is of great importance. The Samaritan Hebrew is not, as Cowley and others used to think, a degenerate form of Hebrew, but Hebrew which has escaped the attentions of the Jewish Massoretes. The ideas and theology of the Samaritan Liturgy are of interest as they show Jewish sectarian views of the first century. There are considerable points of contact with Qumrân.

" On all these scores it seems most timely that the translation of the complete Samaritan Liturgy be made available in a form which can be of use to liturgiologists, Jewish and Christian, Qumrân specialists, and New Testament and Rabbinic scholars.

" We in the University of Leeds, in working on this translation, have kept the needs of all these specialists in mind. If the money were available we could publish the translation during the Jubilee of the publication of its text. We have a publication fund of about £300-£400, but to publish one volume we realize we will need something like £1,300-£1,500 in all. The work would run to two volumes. It is to be hoped that after the publication of one volume the proceeds will help to publish the second."

JACHIN AND BOAZ

By S. YEIVIN

I

The problem of Jachin and Boaz, the twin pillars (really columns) erected by Solomon's architects before the façade of his temple[1], has been quite extensively discussed[2]. It would not, however, be amiss to examine the subject anew, in the hope of finding additional documentation which may possibly help in providing a reasonable solution.

First to be re-examined are the biblical data, in spite of the seemingly inexplicable terminology and textual difficulties involved.

The two main sources concerning these columns are the somewhat detailed descriptions in I Kings and II Chronicles. The first-mentioned source records the following measurements: height, 18 cubits each, *i.e.*, approximately 9·56 m., at the rate of 52 cm. per royal cubit[3]; diameter, approximately 0·988 m. each[4]; the crowning capitals, each 5 cubits high, *i.e.*, approximately 2·58 m.[5]; the total height of each column plus capital was, therefore, 9·56 + 2·58 = 12·14 m. As against these dimensions the version of Chronicles runs: " Also he made before the house two pillars of thirty and five cubits high, and the chapiter that *was* on the top of each of them *was* five cubits "[6], but this verse may be interpreted as giving the total height of both columns. It is true that according to I Kings the combined height should be 36 cubits; however, this discrepancy can be explained by one of the following two alternatives: either the undersides of the capitals were slightly hollowed out to allow them to be securely attached to the top of the columns, so as to exclude the possibility of their slipping and falling off; or, what is less likely, the two columns had been cast as one body[7], and when they were sawn apart and the sawn-off ends polished, the filings took about one cubit off the total height.

The height of the capitals, too, varies in the different biblical sources. For apart from the above-mentioned two main descriptive portions, the two columns under discussion are also mentioned in two additional sources dealing with the booty carried off from the Jerusalem temple by Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, after the conquest and destruction of the city by the hosts of Nebuchadnezzar. One of these runs: " and the chapiter upon it *was* brass: and the height of the chapiter three cubits "[1]; while the evidence of the other source conforms to the tradition of I Kings and II Chronicles[2]. Since the Book of Jeremiah mentions also the circumference of the columns, a detail which seems to have been copied from the description of Solomon's temple, but is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of II Kings, it could be assumed that the height of the capitals, too, had been copied from the same source[3]; while II Kings gave the actual measurements at the time of the destruction of the Temple, since their dimensions might have been changed during one of the renovations of the House of the Lord under Kings Joash[4] or Josiah[5]. On the other hand, it is quite possible that for some reason a faulty reading has found its way into the relevant verse in II Kings, and it should read: " five cubits " (instead of *three*).

---

[1] I Kings vii, 21; II Chron. iii, 15, 17.

[2] *Cf.* the latest summary in Y. Yadin, *Sefer Yerushalayim*, Jerusalem, 1956, p. 175 (Hebrew); also W. F. Albright, *ARI*², pp. 139 ff.

[3] *Cf., e.g.*, S. R. K. Glanville (edit.), *The Legacy of Egypt*,² p. 176.

[4] Reckoning by the circumference (12 cubits), at the rate of 52 cm. the royal cubit; I Kings vii, 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, verse 16.

[6] II Chron. iii, 15.

[7] See below, pp. 7 f.

In I Kings it is expressly stated that the capitals were cast solid[6]. The other two sources do not mention the technique of casting. As to the columns, they are described as having been cast: " in the plain of Jordan . . . in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan "[7]. This process as well as the analogy of the capitals definitely suggest that the columns, too, consisted of a solid cast, elsewhere described in the Bible by the term מֻצַּק. However, there exists in the Bible an apparently contradictory tradition. A passage in the Book of Jeremiah, already mentioned above, dealing with the booty carried off by Nebuzar-adan states: " And *concerning* the ' pillars ', the height of one pillar *was* eighteen cubits; . . . and the thickness thereof *was* four fingers: it *was* hollow "[8]. It follows that according to this version the columns were not a solid cast, but were hollow inside, the thickness of the outer copper envelope being 4 fingers. In this case again, the seeming contradiction can be easily explained on the assumption that, during one of the above-mentioned renovations, new columns were cast and owing to the depleted resources of the temple (or royal treasury) they were cast hollow and not solid at that time. It may, perhaps, be possible to suggest when this change was made. It was already noted above that the large dimensions of the columns compelled Solomon's artisans to cast them " in the thickness of the ground "[1], for they apparently did not know of an appropriate method for preparing such large casting moulds[2]. Now, turning to Assyrian records, we find that in one of his building inscriptions Sennacherib boasts: " . . . I Sennacherib, first among all princes, wise in all craftsmanship, great pillars of bronze, . . . which no king before my time had fashioned, through the clever understanding which the noble Nin-igi-kug had given me, (and) in my own wisdom, I pondered deeply . . . Following the advice of my head (will) and the prompting of my heart, I fashioned . . . and cunningly wrought it. Over great posts and crossbars of wood . . . at the command of the god, I built a form of clay and poured bronze into it . . . and finished their construction "[3]. There is little doubt that such technical improvements in large casting *à cire perdue* (a method long known before that time in the ancient Middle East) quickly spread throughout the Assyrian Empire (the Kingdom of Judah was part of it at that time). It is quite likely, therefore, that the artisans of King Josiah were already familiar with this improved casting technique at the time of the renovations carried out in the Temple during the latter's reign, and could easily cast hollow columns instead of the solid ones of Solomon's days.

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[1] II Kings xxv, 17.

[2] Jer. lii, 23.

[3] *Cf.* however, the details below concerning the casting technique of the columns, p. 8.

[4] II Kings xii, 7 ff.; II Chron. xxiv, 5 ff. (*cf.* the mention of " such as wrought iron and brass " in verse 12).

[5] II Kings xxii, 3 ff.; II Chron. xxxiv, 5 ff. (" artificers " mentioned in verse 11).

[6] The English RV reads: " molten brass " (I Kings vii, 16); but the Hebrew מֻצַּק נְחֹשֶׁת, can also, and probably should, be translated " solid copper ".

[7] I Kings vii, 46. The expression בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲדָמָה translated in the RV as " in the clay ground ", should be translated " in the thickness of the ground ", meaning that the columns were cast not in constructed moulds, but in special excavations dug in the ground in appropriate forms (possibly in two halves).

[8] Jer. lii, 21.

It seems that Ezekiel, too, in his utopian vision of the future Temple foresaw the two columns erected in front of the porch, although he did not expressedly name them[4].

It is more difficult, however, to grasp the construction of the capitals, in spite of the somewhat detailed description in I Kings. Some of the difficulties originate in the rather obscurely worded description, while others are due to our ignorance of the precise meaning of the technical terminology involved in that description.

The relevant verses run:

> " (17) *Sebakhim* of *sebakha*-work, *gedilim*(a) of chain work for the chapiters which *were* upon the top of the pillars;(b) seven for the one chapiter, and seven for the other chapiter, (18) And he made the pillars, and two rows round about upon the one network (*sebakha*), to cover the chapiters that were upon the top, with pomegranates;(c) and so did he for the other chapiter. (19) And (the)(d) chapiters that *were* upon the top of the pillars *were* of lily(e) work in the porch(f), four cubits. (20) And (the)(d) chapiters upon the two pillars (*had pomegranates*)(g) also above over against the belly which *was* by(h) the

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[1] See above, p. 7, note 7.

[2] See above, p. 7 and note 7.

[3] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* II, Chicago, 1927, p. 169.

[4] Ezek. xl, 49.

network (*sebakha*); and the pomegranates *were* two hundred (in) rows round (about) upon the other[(i)] chapiter "[1].

(*a*) RV: *And* bits of checker work, and wreaths of chain work . . . but *sebakha*, pl. *sebakhim* or *sebakhot*, means lattice-work not unlike a net of very large mesh; while *gedil*, pl. *gedilim*, means long fringes, braided or plaited, further explained here as chain-work (of interlocked links). (*b*) Thus the RV, whereas the Hebrew term *'ammud* really designates a round column, as is quite obvious in this case, since the dimension of the circumference is given. (*c*) Thus the RV; the Massoretic text literally translated reads: to cover . . . upon the top *of the* (and not *with*, which is an interpretation and not a translation) pomegranates. (*d*) Not in the MT. (*e*) Thus the RV. *Shushan*, undoubtedly an Egyptian loan word (*sšn*), means a lotus (flower), a very common ornamental motive in Egyptian as well as in Cypriot-Phoenician and (later) Israelite art. (*f*) For the probable meaning of *ba'ulam* (RV: in the porch) here, see below, pp. 14 f. (*g*) The two words inserted in italics here by the RV are an attempt at interpretation by the translators; they do not exist in the (Hebrew) MT; for a suggested interpretation of the text as it stands, see below, p. 13. (*h*) Literally: in the direction of, towards. (*i*) Literally: the second.

Further on in the same chapter:

> " (41) The two pillars, and the *two* bowls of the chapiters[(a)] that *were* on the top of the two pillars; and the two networks (*sebakhot*), to cover the two bowls[(b)] of the chapiters which *were* upon the top of the pillars; (42) And four hundred pomegranates for the two networks, *even* two rows of pomegranates for one network, to cover the two bowls[(c)] of the chapiters that were upon the pillars "[2].

(*a*) Literally translated the MT reads: " Pillars, two; and the pommels (*i.e.*, large spherical knobs) of the capitals (RV: chapiters), two; and the lattice-works (RV: networks), two . . ." Of course, the word *gulla* may also mean water source (probably the large bell-shaped or domed cisterns); here however, it cannot be but a spherical knob, *cf.* Gesenius-Buhl, 17th edn., *s.v.* גֻּלָּה, III, and Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus* II *s.v.* גלה I. The problematical *gulla* in *Zech.* 4, 2–3, may mean bowl, but is not necessarily so. (*b*) pommels. (*c*) pommels.

However, before trying to analyse this description in its full details, it would not be amiss to investigate the possibility of finding among contemporaneous archaeological material, uncovered during the last hundred years or so, as well as in ancient literary documents, parallel phenomena which may help this study.

II

Three pottery models of small chapels are known at present. They can be approximately dated about the Xth–VIIIth centuries B.C.E. One was found at Idalion in Cyprus, and is assigned to the Middle Iron Age there (*c.* 750–550 B.C.E.; see fig. 1). Another was acquired in Palestine, and is exhibited in the former Palestine Archaeological (" Rockefeller " in common parlance) Museum. Though its exact provenance is unknown, the ceramic group allegedly discovered together with it, as well as intrinsic considerations, make it possible to assign the whole lot to the Early Middle Israelite Period (*i.e.*, Xth–IXth centuries B.C.E.; see fig. 2). Finally, a third model has recently been uncovered in the excavations of the *École archéologique française* at the northern Tell el-Fari'a (in Samaria), in a layer belonging to the Xth–IXth centuries B.C.E. (see fig. 3).

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[1] I Kings vii, 17–20.

[2] *Ibid.*, verses 41–42.

One feature is common to all three. The entrances of the chapels are each flanked on the right and the left by a column. In figs. 1 and 3 it is easy to tell that as far as the general plan of each structure is concerned the columns *do not* form in them an integral architectural part, which cannot be eliminated without upsetting the whole construction; and even in fig. 2, where a view of the façade seemingly shows the columns as supporting the lintel, it is enough to look at the model from the side, to perceive that the columns were not originally connected with the structure, and that they are a separate feature, while the apparent connection is merely a technical device to tie them on to the body of the model. This technique also helps to explain fig. 1, in which it looks as if the columns support a small flat roofing projecting from the façade in front of the entrance; it also makes it quite obvious that in fig. 3, too, the columns, which do not support anything, are not to be conceived as semi-engaged in the façade, but are so fashioned in order to secure their adherence to the model.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in a limestone capital from Larnaka in Cyprus. In its present state, this broken capital[1] consists of three superimposed parts (see fig. 4). The bottom part is fashioned as an open calyx of a lotus flower (broken at the base?); from this rises the middle part in the form of a head of a goddess (Hathor? Astarte?), wearing a heavy wig which ends in two thick coils framing the face on either side (in pseudo-Egyptian style); above the wig rises the top part of the capital shaped like a model of a small chapel ornamented on both sides with vegetative motives. What is of interest in this case is the fact that the entrance to this chapel is flanked on either side by pillars bearing on top small replicas of capitals duplicating this same " tripartite " (or triple) capital, without having any apparent architectural significance in the construction of the chapel. It seems that these, too, were conceived as free-standing pillars, and only because it had been impossible to carve them that way, were they rendered as if semi-engaged in the façade.

Another trait common to all three models discussed above (figs. 1–3), are the " double " capitals portrayed on the top of each column. In fig. 1

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[1] H. Th. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, Tuebingen, 1951, fig. 24 (p. 9), copied from M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Griechische Sitten und Gebraeuche auf Cypern*, 1913, pl. 9, fig. 2; details are, therefore, not very clear in the photograph; the general build-up of the capital, however, is quite obvious.

this feature is not self-evident, but once the structure is examined in full detail, it is seen that the shaft of the column ends on top in a thin torus moulding from which spring four petals open and half-everted, forming a lotus-flower capital. But from the centre of this calyx emerges a semi-spherical pommel placed on a short and thick cylindrical stem, the diameter of which is smaller than that of the hemisphere. This forms a sort of a second capital (pommel) on top of the lotus-flower, thus resulting in a " double " capital.

The duplication is quite obvious in the second model (fig. 2). In this case, the potter seems to have attempted (in a very crude and inexperienced way) to depict the so-called " proto-aeolic " capitals[1], the design of which is mainly based on two volutes convolving downward, a fact already commented upon by Iliffe in his publication of the model[2]. Indeed he tried to explain this strange composition by assuming that the potter strove to depict a palm-frond capital; but this explanation was far from satisfactory even at the time; while now, in the light of the evidence gathered in this article, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that what is portrayed here is a " double " capital: the lower one, right side up; the upper one, upside down, with its volutes convolving upwards.

It seems that in the third model, too (fig. 3)[3], a double capital can be discerned. Over a thick torus moulding, there appear here two thick volutes convolving upwards; this would be the lower part of the " double " capital. This part can perhaps be compared with the Cypriot capital from Idalion or those depicted in a window from Kicklia[4]. Between these two volutes, in their upper part, rises another vegetative ornamentation, which cannot be described in detail, since it appears (on the photograph) to be broken off (on both pillars), but it seems to suggest a lotus flower (?).

It should be noted, by the way, that the two last-mentioned models undoubtedly represent small shrines; but their purpose is not quite certain. Iliffe thought that they (at least the one published by him)[5] might have some ritual significance. But in the opinion of the present writer it is possible to envisage also a lay use. In the Roman period numerous pottery lanterns are known, in which pottery lamps could be placed to protect them from sudden gusts of wind (even in the house, and more especially when carried outside to light the way)[6]. Would it be unreasonable to consider the last two models as similar lanterns?—and more especially the one from Transjordan, the top of which ends in a largish knobby button, by which it may have been carried?

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[1] M. Avi-Yonah and S. Yeivin, *Qadmoniot 'Arṣenu* I, Tel Aviv, 1955, pp. 100, 139. For the term " proto-aeolic " see M. Kon, *BJPES* XII (1947), pp. 83 ff. (both Hebrew).

[2] J. H. Iliffe, *QDAP* XI (1945), pp. 91–92, and pl. XXI.

[3] R. de Vaux, *RB* LXII (1955), pl. XIII.

[4] Bossert, *op. cit.*, figs. 15 (on p. 5) and 23 (on p. 9).

[5] *Cf.* above, note 2.

[6] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris*, Ann Arbor, 1934, pp. 116–117 (Nos. 350–351).

To return to the main subject. The " triple " Cypriot capital has already been discussed above[1], but there are other Cypriot capitals which show the same " duplication ", like the one from Idalion[2], which shows rising from the " lower ", usual part a superimposed vegetative pattern of stylized volutes and a papyrus thicket (see fig. 5). Still more instructive from this point of view is the Cypriot dedicatory stele from Athienu (see fig. 6). This stele is shaped like a pillar, narrowing upwards, surmounted by a " double " capital. The lower part of this is of the usual " proto-aeolic " type; from its centre rises the upper part, consisting of four stylized volutes convolving upwards and inwards to frame two human-headed sphinxes flanking a tree-of-life design. The stele ends on top with three abaci superimposed on the capital, and supported at each end by vegetative motives resting on top of the rising volutes of the " upper " capital. Bossert dates this stele to the Vth century B.C.E.[3] Moreover, a careful examination of the representations of " casements "[4] in the ivory incrustations of the Middle Israelite Period (Iron II) will reveal that the barring balustrade in the window is represented as an abacus beam resting on a row of columns crowned by " double " capitals. Very interesting in this connection is the series of Arslan-Tash ivories, forming most probably part of the loot taken by the Assyrians from Hazael, King of Aram[5]. For the subject of this article one should consider especially the series of ivories portraying " the lady in the window "[6]. Incrustation No. 45 from Arslan-Tash (see fig. 7) shows a row of four columns (but *cf.* the stele from Athienu; fig. 6) surmounted by " double " capitals, the " lower " ones are shaped like oblong " shields " (apparently a highly stylized rendering of open flower petals) over a double torus, and surmounted again by a similar double torus moulding, while above the latter rises the " upper " capital (a highly stylized combination of volutes and a papyrus thicket, not dissimilar to that of the capital from Idalion; see fig. 5). The capitals of the row of columns support two superimposed (?) abacus beams, while above them is an empty cloison, which originally must have held an incrustation of a semi-precious stone or coloured glass (imitation). In some ivories there is no upper cloison (*e.g.*, No. 48); in others three abacus

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[1] See above, p. 10 and note 1.

[2] Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and fig. 23 (on p. 9).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3 and fig. 25 (on p. 10). From this point of view there is a distant resemblance between the capital portrayed on the stele under discussion and those of the third model (fig. 3).

[4] אֶשְׁנַבִּים; *cf.* S. Yeivin, *Leshonenu* XVI (1949), pp. 128 ff. (Hebrew).

[5] F. Thureau-Dangin *et alii*, *Arslan-Tash, Texte*, Paris, 1931, pp. 89 ff., esp. pp. 116 ff. The authors have already noted the similarity of the balustrade-capitals and the Cypriot ones. For the Aramaic inscription see *ibid.*, pp. 135 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, *Atlas*, pls. XXXIV-XXXVI, Nos. 45–58.

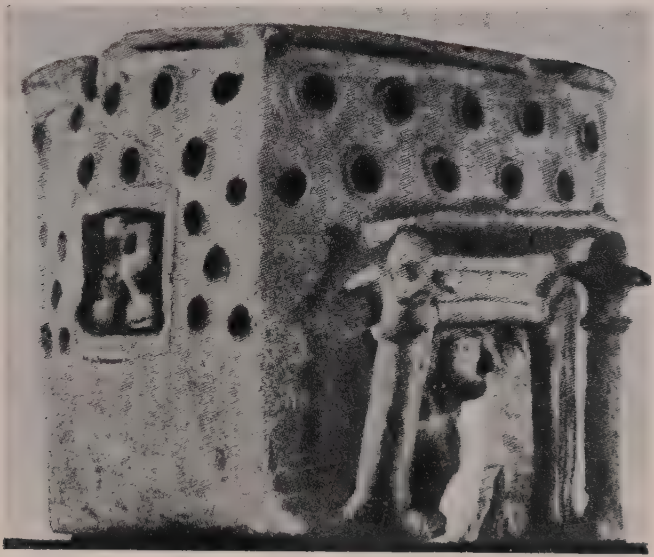

Fig. 1. Pottery model of small chapel from Idalion (Middle Iron Age).

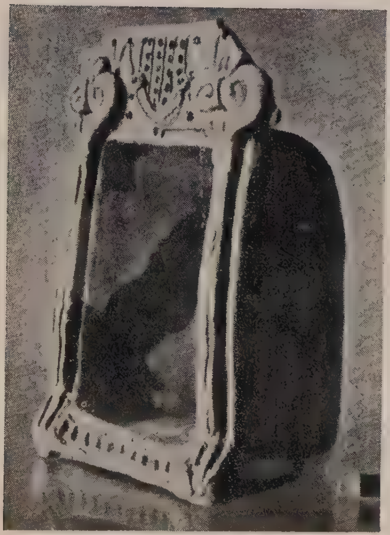

Fig. 3. Pottery model of small chapel from Tell el-Fari'a.

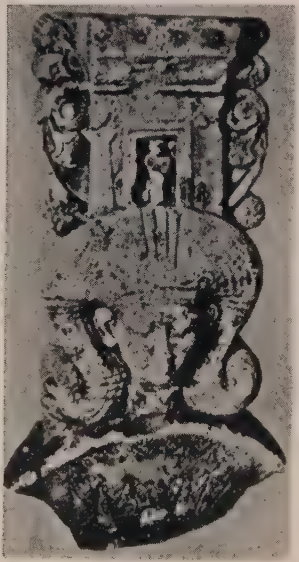

Fig. 4. Limestone capital from Larnaka.

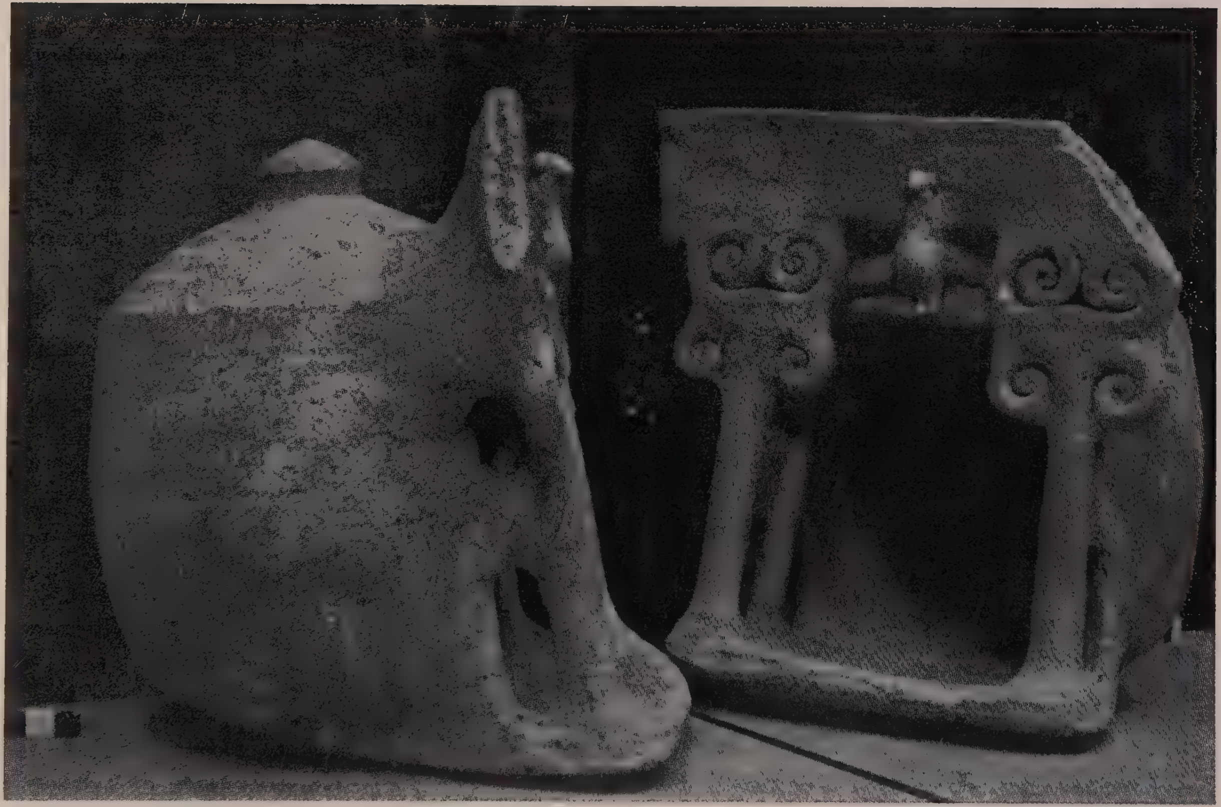

Fig. 2. Ceramic group from Early Middle Israelite Period, including (right) pottery model of small chapel.

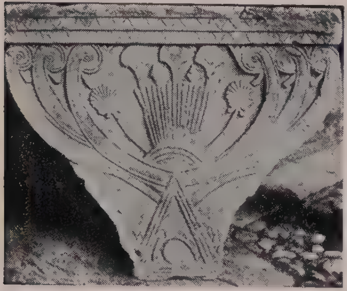

Fig. 5. Cypriot capital from Idalion.

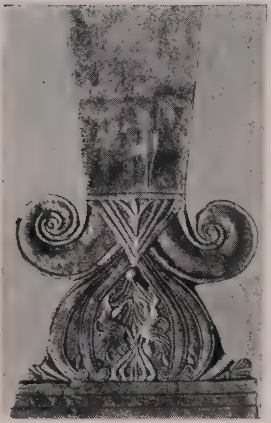

Fig. 6. Cypriot dedicatory stele from Athienu.

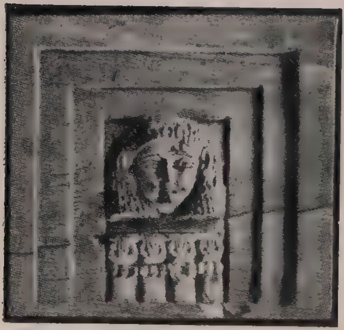

Fig. 7. "Lady in the window" ivory from Arslan-Tash.

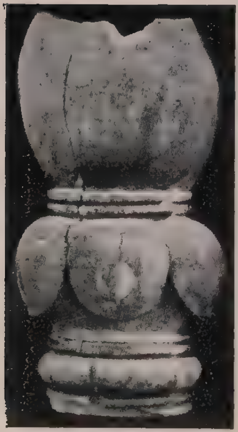

Fig. 8. Lotus and pommel ivory from Arslan-Tash.

beams are portrayed (*e.g.*, No. 58); while some show only one continuous abacus beam over the whole row of pillars, this serving also as the lower edge of the cloison above them (*e.g.*, No. 52). Similar contemporaneous ivory incrustations are also reported from Nineveh[1], Khorsabad[2], and Samaria[3]; while an architectural stone fragment found built-in into a house in Kicklia (Cyprus) exhibits the same design[4].

III

With the help of the material adduced above it is possible now to try and visualize the capitals placed on the columns Jachin and Boaz.

First of all, it seems reasonable to assume that the capitals, like the columns, were round. Secondly, it looks probable that they were " double " capitals within the definition of " duplication " discussed above[5]. To this fact apparently refers also the scriptural wording: " and chapiters[6] upon the two pillars also above, over against the belly . . . " (I Kings vii, 20). This supposition would also help to solve the apparent difficulty of the second half of the verse: " and the pomegranates . . . upon the other chapiter ", for the verse does not refer to the other capital, on top of the second column, but to the " second " capital (*i.e.*, the second part of the " double " capital) of the same unit on top of the self-same column.

It is more difficult to suggest what were the two parts of each capital in the light of the various " possible " types described above; but the scriptures seem to state explicitly that the capitals consisted of two distinct parts: a " lotus " (*shushan;* I Kings vii, 19) and a " pommel " (*gullah;* verse 41). An actual example of such a combination is given in the Cypriot model mentioned above (see fig. 1). A more fitting example, as far as the relative dimensions of the lotus and " pommel " are concerned, is to be seen among the Arslan-Tash ivories (see fig. 8) in which the diameter of the " pommel " equals that of the lotus flower, with a narrower double torus moulding separating the two[7].

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[1] A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1849, p. 19, and pl. 88, 3–3.

[2] G. Loud and Ch. B. Altman, *Khorsabad* II, Chicago, 1938, pp. 96–97, and pls. 51–52.

[3] J. W. Crowfoot *et alii*, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London, 1938, pp. 29–30 and pl. XIII, 2.

[4] Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 2 and fig. 15 (on p. 5).

[5] See above, pp. 10 ff.

[6] About the correct reading of the MT see above p. 8, and notes (*d*) and (*g*) to the text.

[7] Thureau-Dangin, *et alii*, *op. cit.*, *Texte*, pp. 129–130; *Atlas*, p. XXXIV, 92–93. Speaking of these ivories the authors remark: " *Il est peu probable que cet élément ornamental soit d'origine assyrienne. Selon toute vraisemblence, il a été emprunté par les Assyriens à un type de colonne dont ils ont put voir les modèles en pays d'Occident.*" Some semblance to the same ornamental motive may be discovered also in the painted limestone " lamp " found by Schumacher in his " Hall of Masseboth " (the remains of a stable complex) at Megiddo; see G. Schumacher-G. Steuernagel, *Tell el-Mutesellim* I, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 79 ff., fig. 190, and frontispiece.

The various parts of the capitals were apparently cast separately as were also the net-works (see below), since in enumerating the cast objects the relevant verses (I Kings vii, 41–42) mention the pommels, the net-works and the pomegranates each separately.

So far no archaeological or literary evidence has been found in any ancient context of a parallel case of net-works covering, but the construction of these net-works is quite clear. The net-work[1] was made of seven " strands " (chainlets); each one built of a succession of interlocked links. One may assume that the net-work was more or less square, and contained widely separated four " strands " in the warp and three in the weft, or *vice versa.* The entire " net-work " was large enough to envelope the " upper ", " pommel " capital, allowing for a large hem, on which were suspended in two superimposed rows the golden " pomegranates ", *i.e.*, small replicas of the pomegranate fruit cast in gold, one hundred in each row.

Since each part of the capital seems to have been cast separately, one may assume that when the " upper " pommel capital was covered by the net-work, the hem of the latter was passed under the upper *tori*, in order to prevent its being blown away or otherwise disturbed; and on that hem, protruding below the *tori*, were hung the pomegranates covering the upper part of the " lower " lotus-flower capital. Their purpose is explained below.

As already stated, the " lower " capital had been cast in the shape of a lotus-flower, apparently with four open, separated and everted petals, similar to some of the capitals discussed above (see fig. 8); but the possibility should not be overlooked, though it is much less likely, that these capitals were shaped like a half-closed flower-cup, similar to the lowest part of the " triple " capital from Larnaka (see fig. 4). If such was the case, it most probably assumed a somewhat squared shape on top with four somewhat pinched angles, while retaining a rounded outline at the bottom. It rested most probably on a double torus moulding under its base just like the example discussed above. Whether the petals were separate and everted or half-closed with pinched angles, the diameter of the capital at its widest part was four cubits, as explicitly stated: " And the chapiters that *were* upon the top of the pillars *were* of lily work, in width (= בָּאוּלָם) four cubits " (I Kings vii, 19). The word *ba'ulam* here is most probably to be taken as a *terminus technicus*, borrowed from the Assyrian (through the Phoenician?).

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[1] This term (שְׂבָכָה) was understood as describing network by all ancient translators as well as medieval traditional commentators. But the שְׂבָכָה described here should be differentiated from that figuring in the story of King Ahaziah (II Kings i, 2). For the latter see the present writer's article in *Leshonenu* XVI (1949), pp. 137 ff. Etymologically both terms derive from the same original meaning of gridwork or latticework.

It means here "*in width*"[1]. Such a proportion between the width (diameter) of the capital (2·080 m.) and the diameter of the column (0·988 m.)[2], *i.e.*, 2·12 : 1 approximately, seems quite reasonable by contemporaneous examples. Thus, *e.g.*, the proportion between the width of the pillar and the maximal width of the capital on the Athienu stele[3] is 2·14 : 1 (see fig. 6); in another Cypriot capital[4] the proportion is 2·2 : 1 approximately; in the Cypriot capital from Idalion (see fig. 5) the proportion between the base of the capital (which must be assumed to equal the diameter of the column, and in any case not be smaller than the latter) and its maximal width amounts to 4·04 : 1; while in the case of the proto-aeolian capitals from Megiddo the proportion is generally over 4 : 1[5], and only in one case it is 2 : 1 approximately[6]. It should, however, be remembered that all these cases apply to square or rectangular capitals apparently intended for pillars and not for round capitals on round pillars.

As to the pomegranates, several examples are extant among actual finds. Thus, *e.g.*, the bronze tripod from Ugarit exhibits along the lower edge of its upper band a series of pomegranates hanging head downwards; this tripod is dated by Schaeffer to the XIIIth–XIIth century B.C.E.[7]; similarly, one half of a double stone-mould for casting a diadem (or large armlet?), also from Ugarit, shows along the lower border of that ornament a series of hanging pomegranates. Schaeffer attributes this mould to the XIIIth century B.C.E.[1].

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[1] And not *in the porch* as in the RV. The Assyrian *ellamu* is generally translated "opposite", "in front of". However, it seems to the writer that the conception underlying the Hebrew אולם, which is regarded by common consent as borrowed from the Assyrian, may possibly be connected with the Mesopotamian concept of a *Breithaus*, hence the meaning of width imparted to this term. The same meaning would also result in this verse from the current interpretation, "opposite", "in front of", *i.e.*, that part which confronts the onlooker (standing before the אוּלָם = porch) was four cubits (wide). It is difficult to draw any conclusions from the text of the Septuagint in this case, for the verse was already incomprehensible to the translator and he tried to render it as best he could, or else he had a different version before him.

[2] See above, p. 6.

[3] It should be remembered that in this case the pillar gradually narrows towards the top; the same seems true of the rows of columns portrayed in the windows seen in the ivory incrustations (see above, p. 12, and fig. 7). Jachin and Boaz, on the other hand, are nowhere stated to be of unequal diameter along the whole height of their shafts.

[4] Bossert, *op. cit.*, fig. 17 (on p. 6).

[5] R. S. Lamont and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo* I, p. 15 and fig. 17. It is true that these were apparently intended to support the roofing of entrances or narrow passages.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56 and fig. 67.

[7] F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria* X (1929), pp. 295–6 and pl. LX, 1; Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and fig. 786 (on p. 231), on the other hand, thinks that it should be dated to the XIVth–XIIIth century B.C.E.

This mould may indicate that the net-work and the attached pomegranates were cast together, just as the diadem (or armlet?) in question had been cast; and yet the whole was flexible enough to envelop the " pommel " capital and leave the pomegranates hanging loosely. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the net-work and pomegranates were cast separately, each pomegranate on its own(?), and the latter attached along the edges of the network, since they are mentioned apart in the list of cast objects (I Kings vii, 42).

It is now possible to try and elucidate the verses describing Jachin and Boaz, their capitals, and the technique employed in their preparation[2]. The passage in I Kings discussed above begins with an enumeration of the dimensions concerning the columns and their capitals, while further along in the same chapter is described the technique (" in the thickness of the ground ") and location (Succoth) of the actual casting of the various parts[3]. Next follows the detailed description of all parts of the capitals: first the copper net-works of " checker-work ", wrought of four strands in the warp and three in the weft (or *vice versa*), each strand made up of intertwined links, like a chain. These two net-works, each of seven strands (RV " wreaths "), were intended to cover the capitals[4], but no indication given as to which parts of the " double " capitals; this can be deduced from the complementary passage which speaks of the גֻּלּוֹת (RV: bowls; literally " pommels " or spherical tops) of the capitals, and of the fact that the net-works were intended " to cover the two גלות (" pommels ") of the chapiters that were upon the pillars "[1]. The word טוּרִים (= rows) may indicate that the pomegranates were hung (along the hem of the net-work covering the " pommel " of each capital) in two superimposed rows. On the other hand, a different interpretation of the word is not excluded; the word may indicate the two *tori*, the presence of which is deduced architecturally as a limiting and joining feature between the two parts of the double capital; moreover, they are portrayed in the actual models described above (figs. 7–8).

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[1] F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria* XVIII (1937), fig. 17 (on p. 152); the date is given in the caption, but the ornament is not mentioned in the text. Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and fig. 787 (on p. 231), dates this piece to the XIVth–XIIIth century B.C.E.; cf. also C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, Paris, 1939, pp. 43–4 and fig. 32; though it is not expressedly stated there in which stratum the object was found, it seems from the text that it should be attributed to the XIIIth century B.C.E.

[2] I Kings vii, 15–16; cf. above, p. 6.

[3] I Kings vii, 41–46; cf. above, p. 7, and note 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, vii, 18. It should be noted *passim* that the positions of some words in this verse may have been interchanged in the MT, so that perhaps one could read here: " and he made the *pomegranates*, and two rows (*i.e.*, of pomegranates) round about . . . to cover the chapiters that were upon the top of the *pillars* " (thus interchanging the position of the words: pomegranates and pillars). However, the assumption of such interchange is not absolutely necessary, for the MT can be explained as it stands: " and he made the pillars " may be considered introductory to the specifications of casting in general, as a kind of a repetition of the introduction to this whole excerpt: " For he fashioned (RV: cast) the two pillars ", etc. (*ibid.*, vii, 15); while the phrase " to cover the chapiters that were upon the top of the pomegranates " (thus MT; mistranslated in an attempt to interpret the verse as " upon the top, *with* pomegranates ") is to be related only to the upper part of the " double " capital, *i.e.*, to the " pommel ", which actually was above (=upon the top of) the pomegranates, and not to the full " double " capital, which includes also the lower " lily " actually below the pomegranates according to the interpretation advocated here. It has already been noted above, in note 43, that ancient translations cannot help here in the attempt to clarify the proper wording of the passage.

The way the pomegranates were arranged, in two rows, is described in the passage discussed above[2], and in greater detail in the Book of Jeremiah. The pomegranates were attached to each net-work, which was rectangular, if not square: 24 pomegranates to each hem in each row, producing a total of 96 pomegranates round the four edges (in each row), a fact expressed by the relevant verse: " And there were ninety and six pomegranates on a side "[3]; taking into account four additional pomegranates, possibly even somewhat larger than the general run, one at each corner, we arrive at: " and all the pomegranates upon the network *were* an hundred round about "[4]. The lower capital has been fashioned in the form of a lotus flower (RV " lily "), the four petals of which were everted and appear as if adhering to the calix (*cf.* fig. 8), a petal on each of the four sides, the maximal width (= בָּאוּלָם) of each side (including the petal and the profiles of each adjoining one) being four cubits (see fig. 9).

IV

There is still the problem of the purpose for which these twin columns were erected. It has already been elucidated above that such twin columns flanking the entrance of a temple or a chapel are by no means a peculiarity of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Apart from the clay models discussed above[5], there are several more parallel cases that can be cited, both from ancient literary documents as well as actual archeological remains.

In the temple of Nabu, erected by the Assyrian King Sargon II at Dur-

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[1] I Kings vii, 41–42. It is just possible that the wording of the MT is hinting at such interpretation, for the text says here: על־פני העמודים, and not על־ראש העמודים as in the verse above.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii, 18, 20.

[3] Jer. lii, 23^a. רוּחָה, properly translated here " on a side ", is really intended to include all four sides.

[4] *Ibid.*, verse 23^b.

[5] See above, pp. 9 ff.

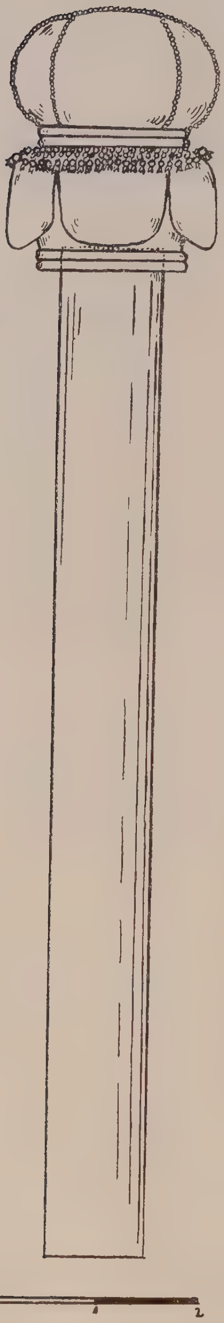

Fig. 9

Sharrukin (Khorsabad) in the last quarter of the VIIIth century B.C.E., there were two columns flanking the main entrance, a little in front of the façade; they had no reasonable architectural function. The columns in question were fashioned of cedar trunks sheathed in ornamented strips of beaten copper[1]. Loud and his colleagues, who excavated at Khorsabad, did not know how to explain these columns; however, they did not consider them as purely ornamental, but suggested a cultual significance, though they could not offer any factual support for this hypothesis[2]. This practice does not seem to be Assyrian, for nothing similar has so far been found in association with Assyrian temples elsewhere. It seems, therefore, that this feature was borrowed from the plans of Aramaeo-Pheonician temples.

One of the numerous reliefs decorating Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad represents the Assyrian plundering of a temple at Muṣaṣir in Ararat, taken by Sargon II in 714 B C.E. Before the façade of the temple are depicted two high poles flanking the main entrance on either side, which terminate each on top in a large pointed blade similar to the one decorating the top of the gable in the same temple[3].

In 1957 Dr. Yadin uncovered near the N.W. edge of the lower "enclosure" at Hazor the remains of a "Hittite" temple of the XIIIth century B.C.E. (in the upper stratum of the Late Canaanite period). Before the façade (south) there were two round basalt bases of columns flanking the main entrance. Since these, too, did not seem to fill any architectural function, they may be considered a parallel to Jachin and Boaz[4].

Literary evidence belongs to a much later period. Herodotus relates[5] that in the Hercules temple at Tyre there were two large columns, one made of (sheathed in?) gold, the other built of (incrusted with?) precious stones, and their glow could be seen afar at night. Strabo states[1] that in the Phoenician colony of Gades (Cadiz) in Spain were erected two copper pillars (columns?) in honour of Hercules. Finally, Lucian testifies[2] that the entrance to the temple of the Syrian goddess (Atargatis) was flanked by two huge pillars (columns?).

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[1] G. Loud and Ch. B. Altman, *Khorsabad* II, p. 61 and pls. 44 (reconstruction of façade), 79, 84. Similar columns were erected also in the outer courtyard of the temple (before the façade of the inner courtyard). Then, again, similar columns were uncovered before the façades of the temples of Sin and Shamash at the same sites; *idem*, *ibid.*, I, Chicago, 1936, pp. 97–8 and figs. 98–9, 104, 112.

[2] *Idem*, *ibid.*

[3] The relief, now in the British Museum, was first published by P. E. Botta, *Monuments de Ninive* II, Paris, 1849, pl. 141; cf. E. Gressmann, *ATB*, pp. 45–6, and pl. LIX, fig. 136; J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, Princeton, 1954, p. 293, and fig. 370 (on p. 129). The reconstructions of Laplace and Loud, which depict on the top of the columns palm-fronds or other symbols, are purely personal suggestions. If, however, one considers the example of Muṣaṣir, where the pointed blades may signify that the Kaldian deity was a War god, it is possible that the Khorsabad columns were also intended to bear symbols of the deities worshipped in the temples. Since Solomon did not need to proclaim the identity of his Lord, to whose worship the Temple had been dedicated, he crowned the columns with ornamental capitals.

[4] Y. Yadin, *BIES* XXII (1957/8), pp. 24–6, and pl. VIII, 1 (in the background; Hebrew). The plan of the temple at Tell Tayinat is no parallel to the feature under discussion, for the columns in the portico there seem to be intended to support the roof of the portico; hence, they seem to be integral architectural parts of the building.

[5] Herodotus II, 44.

Herodotus' evidence of the Vth century B.C.E. is supported by Phoenician coinage of a much later date. Thus, a bronze coin minted at Sidon in the year 10/9 B.C.E. shows on the obverse a temple (in the façade of which appear four columns), flanked on each side by separate columns standing on a base and surmounted by a double (?) capital[3]. Unfortunately, the present writer could not examine the coinage of Gades and Bambyce-Hierapolis, to check whether the testimonies of Strabo (Ist century B.C.E.–Ist century C.E.) and Lucian (IInd century C.E.) find support in numismatic evidence[4].

It follows, therefore, that a custom of erecting twin columns in front of the façades of temples (without any architectural relation to the building) was current in the western part of the Fertile Crescent (the area of Israel, Phoenicia, Syria) at least since the XIIIth century B.C.E. and till the IInd century C.E. In pagan temples these can perhaps be explained as symbols of, or at least " pegs " on which to hang the symbols of, the deities to whom the temples were dedicated[5]; however, the description of the capitals superimposed on Jachin and Boaz prevents such an explanation in the case of Solomon's temple, just as it definitely squashes the hypothesis, first put forward by Robertson Smith, that these columns were intended as pedestals for gigantic lamps[6].

A possible solution may be suggested on the analogy of a custom current among the nomadic tribes in pre-Islamic Arabia. Whenever a man entered the tent of his wife, he used to stick his lance into the ground, point upwards, in front of the entrance, to advise all callers that the owner was inside and should not be disturbed. Thus the upright lance served as evidence of the fact that its lord is in actual occupation. Should it not be surmised, therefore, that such twin columns were, so to speak, a " transmigration " of a similar traditional custom?—*i.e.*, they were intended to symbolize first and foremost the physical presence inside of the deity in whose honour the temple had been erected; and even in pagan temples the exhibition of the symbols of such deities on the columns was merely a secondary indication of the exact identity of the deity in question[1]. In Solomon's temple there was no need to indicate the identity of the God " dwelling in Zion ", but the necessity must have been felt to symbolize His permanent abiding in the sacred dwelling erected for Him by Solomon: " I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in for ever "[2].

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[1] Strabo III, 4, 170.

[2] Lucian, *de dea Syria*, XV, XXVII; on this work and its attribution to Lucian see Pauly-Wissowa, *RECA* IV, 2, col. 2237.

[3] G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, London, 1920, p. 169, and pl. XXII, 18; *cf.* also *ibid.*, p. XLII, 16 (reverse). It is possible that similar columns may be indicated also on the coinage of Dora and Byblos. A Byblian coin of Heliogabalus (Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and p.l XII, 7) shows on the reverse the façade of the temple of Astarte, apparently supported by six columns. However, the central column of each group of three (on either side of the entrance) differs from the two flanking it. To begin with, its top does not reach up to the architrave, and does not seem intended to support the roof of the colonnaded portico; secondly, its trunk is represented as twisted (spirally fluted), while the others are smooth. A similar feature may be represented also in a coin of Dora (this one, too, issued by Heliogabalus). The coin is badly worn, but it seems that of the six columns depicted in a façade of a temple, the central one in each group of three does not reach up to the architrave above (Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 118, and pl. XIV, 77, reverse).

[4] No catalogues featuring such coinage are available in Israel.

[5] *Cf.*, more especially the columns (or poles?) represented in the Musaṣir relief from Khorsabad (see above, p. 19).

[6] See above, p. 6, and note 2.

Perhaps it is further possible to associate the pomegranates with the above hypotheses. The pomegranates were not unlike small bells, which would emit a tinkling noise when agitated by the winds, striking against each other. Such " noise " would have been further evidence of the presence of the *Shekhina*, on the analogy of what is related in connection with one of David's campaigns against the Philistines near Jerusalem: " And let it be, when thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself; for then shall the LORD go out before thee, to smite the host of the Philistines "[3]. The tinkle of the pomegranates is therefore equated here to " the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees "[4].

Moreover, should not the existence of these twin columns in the temple be considered as giving rise to the (possibly later) crystallization of the tradition concerning the twin pillars of smoke and fire that accompanied the tribes of Israel during their wanderings in the desert?

The names of the two columns Jachin (on the right) and Boaz (on the left)[5], too, have formed the subject of numerous discussions[6]; however, the present writer takes the liberty of putting forward with very great hesitation, a new hypothesis. The temple erected by Solomon had a personal association, to a certain degree, with the reigning dynasty[1]. Would it not be a plausible suggestion that Solomon wished to emphasize this familial-dynastic association with the new temple by naming the two columns, symbolizing the LORD's presence in the House, after his ancestors? Boaz, the most honoured of all David's paternal forefathers[2], is well known; moreover, Jachin, too, appears in the Bible as a personal name. It is true that as such the name appears as that of a Simeonite clan[3], or a priestly family in the reign of David[4]. There is little doubt that David maintained close relations with Simeonite clans even before he ascended the throne[5]. Perhaps he may have been connected with a Simeonite family on his mother's side (the origin of the latter is unknown)[6]. And who more than Solomon was likely to emphasize his Israelite origin also on the maternal side (of his father David at least)?—for he himself was not above reproach on this count, since his mother Bath-sheba was most probably a Jebusite[7]. It is difficult to come to a definite conclusion in this connection, but the above suggestion should not be overlooked.

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[1] Actually similar practice is still in vogue at present, for the ensign or flag of the head of a state is flown on the building in which he happens to reside at the moment; while the flags of certain naval commanders are hoisted on the flag-ships only at the time when they are actually present there; etc.

[2] I Kings, viii, 13.

[3] II Sam. v, 24.

[4] בְּכָאִים, translated in the RV as " mulberry trees " (following ancient Jewish traditions; E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraitatis* II, *s.v.*), certainly are not mulberry trees; but their exact identity is still disputed, as is also the fact whether the verse alludes to trees or not; *cf. Encyclopaedia Biblica* II, *s.v.*

[5] I Kings vii, 21; II Chron. iii, 17.

[6] See above, p. 6, and note 2.

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[1] *Cf.* S. Yeivin, *Sefer Yerushalayim* I, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1955/6, p. 136; B. Mazar, *Yehuda we-Yerushalayim*, Jerusalem, 1956/7, pp. 25 ff. (both Hebrew).

[2] Ruth ii, 1 ff.; I Chron. ii, 11–12; etc.

[3] Num. xxvi, 12; in the parallel text in I Chron. iv, 24 appears instead the name of Jarib.

[4] I Chron. xxiv, 17.

[5] *Cf.* I Sam. xxx, 26–31 (and especially verse 30), and I Chron. iv, 30, 32.

[6] In this connection it should be remembered that in the tribal genealogies a Zerahite family is attributed to the tribe of Simeon named immediately after Jarib (=Jachin). David, indeed, according to Biblical genealogies, was a Pharezite, but Pharez was the full brother of Zerah. Was the latter a mixed clan or family of Judaites and Simeonites?

[7] S. Yeivin, *Zion* IX (1943/4), pp. 63 ff.; *idem*, *Sefer Dinaburg*, Jerusalem (1949/50), pp. 42 ff. (both Hebrew).

IS THE SAMARITAN CALENDAR THE OLD ZADOKITE ONE?

By John Bowman

If we compare the festivals of the Jews and the Samaritans, we find that in broad outline they agree with one another. Both the Jews and the Samaritans keep the Feast of Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. With the Samaritans, this is not, as with the Jews, one festival but two. Both Jews and Samaritans keep the Feast of Weeks, though the date on which it falls differs. Both Jews and Samaritans observe as a special day the first of Tishri, which the Jews call New Year's Day, and the Samaritans, the first of the seventh month. Both Jews and Samaritans keep the tenth of Tishri as the Day of Atonement, and both keep the fourteenth to the twenty-second Tishri as the Feast of Tabernacles, though the Samaritans make the eighth day of Tabernacles a separate feast. Broadly speaking the Jewish and Samaritan festival calendars agree, as far as the major feasts are concerned.

The Jews have two smaller feasts, Purim, falling on the fourteenth Adar, and Hanukkah, falling on the twenty-fifth Kislew. Purim, witn its reading of Esther, celebrates the delivery of the Jews in Persia in the time of Esther. Hanukkah, sometimes called the Feast of Lights, celebrates the re-dedication of the Jewish Temple by the Maccabees.

The Samaritans do not keep either of these festivals. This is due perhaps, as critical scholarship has shown, to the fact that the observance of Purim took place about the same period as that of Hanukkah, namely, from the time of the Maccabees. Like the book of Esther, Purim's charter, Purim was designed to revive the then flagging patriotism of the Jews.

Samaritanism on the other hand, has two minor festivals, one in the Spring, and the other at the beginning of Autumn. These are known as Zimmuth Pesaḥ and Zimmuth Sukkoth respectively. Zimmuth Pesaḥ occurs sixty days before the Feast of Passover on the fifteenth Nisan; the Zimmuth Sukkoth occurs sixty[1] days before the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth Tishri. Zimmuth Pesaḥ is called by the Samaritans the Gate of the Festival Year.

The Bible of the Samaritans is the Pentateuch. There is no mention of either Zimmuth festival in the Pentateuch legislation. The Samaritans, however, find the basis for the Zimmuth Pesaḥ in the meeting of Moses and

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[1] *I.e.*, Zimmuth Pesaḥ should be on 15th Shebaṭ and Zimmuth Sukkoth on 15th Ab.

Aaron, when Moses returned from Midian, and came back to Egypt to initiate the liberation of his people. The root meaning of Zimmuth implies conjunction and meeting. The Samaritan High Priest, to this day, sells to the faithful the Samaritan Calendar for the ensuing six months at both Zimmuths. In the Samaritan milieu, as throughout the Jewish Hebrew nexus, keeping all the festivals on the exact day is essential if the festivals are to be at all valid. By their retention of the power to promulgate the agreed calendar for the Samaritans, the Samaritan High Priests down the ages have kept secure their hold over their community. There is no reason to believe that this is a late development. The Zimmuth, while taken as referring to the meeting of Moses and Aaron, is throughout the calendar regarded as the conjunction of the Sun and Moon. The Samaritan year, like the Jewish, is lunar, but is more tied to the solar. It was apparent that, whereas the festivals of the Hebrews were to be at the full moon, yet, in certain aspects, like the Barley Sheaf offered after Passover and the Fruit Harvest at Tabernacles, the festivals had to be tied to the progress of the solar year, otherwise the fruits of the earth would not be ready to be offered at the festivals concerned, if the latter were fixed merely by the moon.

The Samaritan High Priest is, as I have said elsewhere (" Ezekiel and Zadokite Priesthood ", *Transactions of the Glasgow Oriental Society*, 1957), of Zadokite stock. It is possible that the Samaritan priesthood, although in dissension from the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem, kept on some of the Zadokite practices after the schism. In Samaritan religion, the priests have long held the rights of the Israelite priesthood, keeping the calendar within their control.

It is significant that the Samaritans and Sadducees agreed on the dating of the Feast of Weeks, as against the Pharisees. The Pharisaic movement came into power at the time of the Maccabean Revolt in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Until the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem had been in power there from the time of Solomon—in all nearly eight hundred years.

With the attempted Hellenization of Judaism by the Seleucid rulers in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., the Zadokite priesthood lost their control of Judaism. Some of them emigrated to Damascus and the Dead Sea to form the Damascus Sect and the Qumrân Sect, others to Leontopolis in Egypt. The Pharisaic laity, the lay Bible scholars, saved the day for Judaism by their valiant stand against the encroachment of Hellenization; but when the priesthood came back to the re-dedicated temple, it was a non-Zadokite priesthood—which later took, however, the name of Sadducee. Their powers were greatly curtailed because the majority of the people followed the Pharisees, even though they had no priestly prerogatives. But the priestly prerogatives of these non-Zadokite priests did not remain unquestioned. I suggest that one such was their right to fix the calendar; that was challenged. This is not to say that all control of the calendar passed forthwith into the Pharisees' hands, because we hear of apparently unsettled disputes between the Sadducees and Pharisees on the question of calendar[1]; and further, after A.D. 70, when the Jewish temple finally fell, the first act of the Rabban Johanan Ben Zakkai was to declare that the calendar was in his control; had it not been before? Nevertheless, the Mishnah, the Tradition of the Elders, gives the overall impression that Rabbinic Judaism was, and had always been, Normative Judaism. But the Mishnah was not finally codified until A.D. 200, although it claims for itself ancient tradition, and there is good reason to believe that it represents in the main the later Rabbinic tradition and the projection of such into the past.

It is possible, however, that though the Pharisees and Maccabees won the day for priesthood and Temple in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., the Pharisees already began to take over control of the calendar; this is important because by control of the calendar they could state when feasts would be held, and that only such feasts as were to be held on the days that they said they should be held, were valid. Control of the calendar would be a prime objective of the Pharisees. We, of course, do not know from surviving Jewish evidence how the Zadokite priesthood arranged the fixing of the calendar. The Pharisees and their Rabbinic successors saw to it that nothing has been left of old Zadokite practice but have projected their own views back, and claimed that their views and practices were always held. However, the Samaritans, whose priesthood was of Zadokite stock, have preserved something which may throw light on the pre-Rabbinic Jewish calendar. We start with the two feasts which were instituted in the 2nd century B.C. when the Pharisees were seizing power, and compare them with their Samaritan (and Zadokite?) counterparts.

Hanukkah is no older than the 2nd century B.C. re-dedication of the Jewish temple. The Pharisees were realists, they knew that many of the people had accepted pagan customs. Hanukkah falls in the winter solstice, which was the pagan Midwinter celebration. In the Feast of Tabernacles on the seventh day, Hoshanna Rabba, as we know from the Mishnah, in Temple times there was a great Feast of Lights. According to II Macc. x, 6, the Hanukkah festival was celebrated after the manner of the Feast of Tabernacles by carrying branches and singing songs of praise. In fact in II Macc. i, 9, the Festival is specifically mentioned as " the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Casleu ". Sixty days separated Hoshanna Rabba, the Feast of Lights at Tabernacles, from Hanukkah, the Feast of Lights on the twenty-fifth Kislew. Incidentally, sixty days in the other direction—before Tishri—would bring us to the month of Ab. This month would have sinister associations for the Pharisees, *e.g.*, in the first place it was on the ninth of Ab that the Jewish temple fell in 586 B.C. Secondly, if the Samaritan Zimmuth Sukkoth of the fifteenth Ab represents an old Zadokite festival, with the promulgation of the calendar for the following six months, the Pharisees, seeking to take over the calendar, would wish to make the people forget also this day, as much as possible.

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[1] *Cf.* the question of the Feast of Weeks.

It is seen that Hanukkah in Kislew is separated from Tabernacles in Tishri by sixty days, just as the fifteenth Ab was separated from Tabernacles by sixty days. I suggest that there are several reasons for this. The Pharisees decided that the commemorating of the re-dedication of the temple should not take place in Ab, the inauspicious month for the temple, but on twenty-fifth Kislew, which had no such unhappy associations. The twenty-fifth Kislew, hitherto a pagan festival, could be made respectable by being associated with the re-dedication of the temple, and the people would have a new festival to compensate for the loss of the fifteenth Ab, which had the old Zadokite calendar association.

Purim falls on the fourteenth Adar—this is only thirty days before Passover. However, in leap year when there are two months of Adar, the Purim Qaṭan falls in the month of I Adar and is thus sixty days before Passover, like the Zimmuth Pesaḥ, the fifteenth of Shebaṭ in Samaritan reckoning, which is sixty days before Passover. But the Pharisees could not blot out knowledge of these festivals, for in Mishnah *Ta'anith* IV, 10, Rabban Gamaliel says that at one time there had been no rejoicing like the rejoicing on the fifteenth Ab. Also Mishnah Rosh ha-Shanah I, i, says that there were four New Years, one of these, the New Year of Trees, was on the fifteenth Shebaṭ; also Megillah *Ta'anith* lists the fifteenth Ab and the fifteenth Shebat as days on which there could be no fasting. It would appear that with the Pharisees, the fifteenth Ab and the fifteenth Shebaṭ were days of remembered significance: the days themselves they allowed to be observed as special days, but altered their purpose.

It is possible that change from the fifteenth Shebaṭ and the fifteenth Ab to the fifteenth Adar and the fifteenth Kislew respectively, was clearly associated with calendar reform. In this respect, too, the twenty-fifth Kislew was the winter solstice and it would be essential for the Pharisees to fix the position of the sun for calendar purposes. The fifteenth Adar was important as being the full moon before the Passover full moon. In Mishnah *Rosh ha-Shanah*, II, 5, 6, we hear how the Pharisees fixed the month by empirical observation of the appearance of the new moon. For the major festivals of Passover and Tabernacles they sent out emissaries telling of the appearance of the new moon even if it meant profaning the Sabbath, cf. M. *Rosh ha-Shanah*, I, 4.

It was only by the 3rd–4th centuries that the Rabbinic Jews employed tables for the calculation of the calendar; presumably the calendar calculations had been the secret of the Zadokite priests; and when they left and the Pharisees took over, the latter did not obtain such priestly calculation of the calendar. It was not only that they wanted to be different, but to some extent they had to be different, in their calculations of the calendar as they had not the necessary knowledge. They did not have the several hundred years of experience which even the Samaritan priests had had. As far as the Samaritan calendar is concerned, it is the secret of long standing, jealously guarded by their priesthood, and they do not make it clear how it operates. They claim to this day that the secret goes back to Adam and that they are of Zadokite stock. If so, it is an old Zadokite calendar secret that the Samaritans preserved.

The Qumrân Sect also kept their own calendar secret and regarded as invalid the calendar as fixed by the Rabbinic Jews. It would seem to be that the Qumrân Sect knew nothing of the feast of Purim and the feast of Hanukkah. It is to be expected of the Qumran sect, that if they left Jerusalem *c.* 180 B.C. they would ignore the re-dedication of the temple in 165 B.C. for they would not consider the temple properly and validly re-dedicated without the proper Zadokite priesthood. Moreover, the Festival of Purim was inaugurated in Maccabean times to strengthen the national feelings of the Jews holding Pharisaic sympathies.

It may be that the Samaritans have preserved an old Zadokite calendar, and if so it might help to elucidate the calendar of the Qumrân Zadokite priestly sect.

In *D.S.D.*, col. x, lines 1–11, we have information about the Qumrân calendar. The most important and unfortunately most cryptic passage is that in lines 3 and 4. In the first place it is not surprising that *D.S.D.* does not set out explicitly all the facts concerning the Qumrân Sect's calendar calculation as that would be a guarded secret kept within the hands of the inner council or *sodh*: at least, so we might argue if we can draw a parallel with Samaritan priestly practice. The Samaritan calendar is still a mystery in many respects despite the articles by Weis[1] and Robertson[2]; even if they had used all the available material, there would still have remained unsolved riddles which only the Samaritan High Priest could have solved. The calendar has been and still is the special concern of the Samaritan High Priest. Twice a year he issues it to the Faithful and not only does it bring in revenue to him, but by fixing what are the times of holy days and Sabbaths it provides the yardstick as to who is a Samaritan and who is not.

Talmon in his excellent monograph " The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert "[3], p. 178, mentions that in *D.S.D.*, col. x, " It is stated that the reckoning of the months and the fixing of the festal days must be based on the solar period ". This he deduces from his translation of הם גדל לקדוש קודשים ואות ן rendered by him as " The Great (luminary) for the Holy of Holies and a trustworthy sign ". His basic hypothesis is that the Qumrân calendar was solar as against the Rabbinic which was lunar (*cf. ibid.*, p. 179). I think this is an over-simplification. Talmon is to be congratulated on highlighting the calendar controversy between the Jewish sects and as seeing it as a possible criterion with which to identify " the Sons of Light with any other dissident Jewish group " (*ibid.*, p. 196) but one feels he too easily accepts that the Rabbinic calendar of Normative Judaism had always been " the calendar reckoning of the main community ". " The Samaritans, Sadducees, Boethusians and Karaites ", he says (*ibid.*), " were all distinguished by deviations from the calendar reckoning of the main community ". By the time of the inception of Karaism (*c.* A.D. 800), Normative Rabbinic Judaism was the main community; but had it been so when the Samaritans went into schism in the 4th century B.C. or even in the period prior to A.D. 70? Was the Sadducean High Priest prior to A.D. 70 a schismatic? The Rabbis prior to A.D. 70 may have tried to bring pressure on the Sadducean priests but in effect accepted their ministrations in the Temple. I find most interesting Talmon's attempt to find from Rabbinic sources traces of the calendar dispute with the (Qumrân) Sectarians, but I am not convinced that citations from Shoher Tov, a midrash of much later date, would refer to these Sectarians who had disappeared by A.D. 70; nor am I convinced that what applied to the Amora Samuel's 3rd century reckoning, which was by tables, would have applied in the first century: *cf.* M. *Rosh ha-Shanah* I, 7, 8, 9, which shows the Rabbis' concern to let nothing stand in the way of one who had seen the new moon coming.

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[1] " Abu'l-Hasan al-Suri's Discourse on the Calendar ", *B.J.R.L.*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1946.

[2] " The Astronomical Tables of the Samaritans ", *B.J.R.L.*, vol. 23, 1939.

[3] Reprint from *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1958.

Talmon (p. 176 f.), influenced by A. Jaubert (" Le Calendrier des Jubilés et de la Secte de Qumrân ", *V.T.* 3, 1953, pp. 250–264), sees the relationship between the Qumrân calendar and that of Jubilees as very close. He maintains that the Jubilees calendar was solar; *cf.* p. 177: " The reference is to the solar year as it is stated explicitly, ' And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and all seasons of the year ' ". This as regards Jubilees has been recognized from the time of Charles, and is in large measure incontrovertible. My contention is that we must not fall into the error of regarding emphasis on the solar basis of the calendar as exclusive of the part played by the moon in determining the calendar. It is too simple, too clear cut, to regard the calendar of *D.S.D.* and of Jubilees on the one hand as solar, and that of the Rabbis as lunar. It is true of neither side[1]. No party in the Jewish Hebrew nexus could ignore either sun or moon, for in the Bible the festivals have already both a solar and a lunar connection. The main festivals were held on the full moon, but the offering of the Omer on the morrow of the Sabbath of the Passover was determined by the sun having ripened a sheaf of barley by the middle of Nisan. It is all a question of emphasis on either sun or moon. The Rabbis regarded the part played by the moon in the fixing of the calendar as basic. Jubilees and *D.S.D.* may have emphasised the part played by the sun in fixing the year but did not exclude the function of the moon[1]. How could they, as the feasts have to be held at full moon? The Rabbis, however, had to intercalate a month, II Adar, from time to time, to keep their feasts in the lunar calendar from being too much at variance from the progress of the sun. The results were more or less the same. It is only the Muslims who have a purely lunar year, and their months circle unattached to the solar seasons. The question was basically which of the two luminaries to regard as basic in settling the religious year: if one emphasized the lunar year one was clearly faced with frequent intercalation to keep in step with the solar year. If one emphasized the solar year, intercalation was less; but there was still the problem of keeping in step with the lunar year as the festivals fell on full moons. There would be considerable discrepancies as to dates of festivals fixed by those who regarded the lunar year as more important than the solar and *vice versa*, but neither could ignore either sun or moon. Is it not possible that the priests to whom the question of the calendar and fixing of dates of feasts was an old problem, had long ago found how to hold both solar and lunar years in some sort of rapport?

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[1] *E.g.*, the Amora Samuel fixed for the Rabbis by the third century A.D. the exact length of the solar year.

The Samaritan Chronicle *Tolidah*[2] in its introduction stresses like Jubilees that the calendar has been handed down from the angels through the patriarchs. On the entry into Israel, Phinehas, so Samaritan tradition asserts, tried out the calculation of the calendar by observation of the sun and moon from Mt. Gerizim, " Thereby we define the courses of the sun and the moon for God said at the time when He created them: ' let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and for years '. But not with one only can we define anything—for if we should calculate with one of them, we would not come to the month of Abib, which is Nisan every year, and the Lord has said: ' Observe the month Abib '. Blessed be the Lord our God who has given us a right calculation and a perfect Torah by the hand of a righteous prophet, and He stated (therein): ' The appointed feasts of the Lord which you shall proclaim as holy convocations, my appointed feasts are these ' ". The calendar is based according to Samaritan belief on their having the true copy of the law and the correct calendar calculations which remain with the High Priest, and their having the proper place from which to take measurements of sun and moon. Mt. Gerizim to the

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[1] The same is true of Ben Sira the Zadokite priest of Jerusalem who in ch. xliii after a panegyric on the sun says, *ibid.*, vv, 6, 7, " The moon *also* is in all things for her season, for a declaration of times, and a sign of the world. From the moon is the sign of the feast day ".

[2] Ed. Bowman, University of Leeds, 1953.

Samaritans was as Jerusalem to Ezekiel, the ‘ navel of the earth ’. Can it be that the Zadokite priest who wrote Ezekiel xl–xlviii thought of Jerusalem as the navel of the earth for fixing the position of sun and moon? The *Tolidah* introduction sets out a list of Jubilees from the entry of Israel into Palestine. Like the Book of Jubilees, Samaritan history as seen by the *Tolidah* is reckoned in Jubilees. Charles in his edition of *The Book of Jubilees* (London, 1902, Introd., pp. lxxvi-lxxvii) pointed out the striking identity of the years of age of the antediluvian patriarchs as set out in the Book of Jubilees and the *Tolidah*, as against the Bible, M.T. and Sam. Vers. and LXX alike. The Samaritan High Priesthood was a branch of the Zadokite high priestly family. Jubilees and *D.S.D.* have a similar calendar. *D.S.D.* like the Book of Jubilees stresses the keeping of the Jubilees (*e.g.*, D.S.D. col. x, line 8: “ And the beginning of their weeks to a season of release ”, *i.e.*, the Jubilee). The Qumrân Sect was Zadokite: it is possible that the Book of Jubilees too is a Zadokite production. In any case the Book of Jubilees was held in high esteem by *C.D.C.* and the Qumrân Sect; and the *Tolidah*, the early Samaritan Annal, seems to have points of contact with the Book of Jubilees on the ages of antediluvians, as Charles noted, and in its Jubilees time scheme. If, then, a Samaritan work like the *Tolidah* has such points of contact with the Book of Jubilees, is it not likely that the community which produced the Book of Jubilees and the Samaritans had a similar calendar? If the Book of Jubilees and the Qumrân Sect themselves had a similar calendar, are we not in the position now to enquire whether the Samaritans and the Qumrân Sect had a similar calendar ? That would not be surprising since both had a Zadokite priesthood.

If we can judge by the fragment of the Book of the Priestly Courses at Qumrân cited by Talmon, *ibid.*, p. 170, the Qumrân sect celebrated Passover (and the second Passover), Weeks, the Day of Atonement and Tabernacles. Purim and Hanukkah are not mentioned, nor is Rosh ha-Shanah (the new year on the first of Tishri), none of which is celebrated by the Samaritans; the New Year is merely the first of the seventh month and is called Yom Teruah. It could be argued that it and Purim and Hanukkah were not full feasts and so are not mentioned in the Book of Priestly Courses from Qumrân: but why should the Zadokites celebrate a re-dedication of the Temple which in their eyes was not Kasher?—and in any case they had left it before Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated it. The Qaraites too do not observe Hanukkah though they observe Purim. But if Purim was, as suggested earlier, a Pharisaic innovation partly connected with their calendar reform and partly to stimulate the nationalism of the Maccabean Revolt, it is unlikely that the Zadokites of Qumrân would observe it. The Book of Esther ends with the news of Liberation being sent to the Jewish communities through the Persian Empire. Purim on the fourteenth Adar thus tells of a coming deliverance. The Samaritan Zimmuth Pesaḥ of the fifteenth Shebaṭ tells of the meeting of Moses and Aaron, and Moses telling news of the coming redemption.

The reading of Esther was a good preparation for Passover which was the feast of the First Deliverance; but did Purim with its news of deliverance replace Zimmuth with its celebration of the news of the coming Mosaic deliverance?

But why if the Samaritan celebration of Zimmuth Pesaḥ on the fifteenth Shebaṭ represents an old Zadokite special day, does the Qumrân priestly list not mention it? But even with the Samaritans Zimmuth Pesaḥ (fifteenth Shebaṭ) and Zimmuth Sukkoth (fifteenth Ab) are not listed as feast days.

Time has come to see if *D.S.D.* col. x, ll. 3 and 4, throws any light on the possibility that the Qumrân Sect and the Samaritans calculated their calendar in a similar manner. Apart from Zimmuth Pesaḥ being held by the Samaritans to commemorate the meeting of Moses and Aaron, it was also the conjunction of the moon and the sun; cf. Cowley[1], p. 100: “This is the day on which Divine Favour was established with the meeting of Aaron with his brother, the meeting of lovingkindness with lovingkindness, the conjunction of the moon and the sun”. For the Samaritan the Zimmuth (*cf.* Cowley, p. 436) was “the door to the days of the festive and joyous seasons; by which, in all places, the calculation is fixed for the beginning of month and festival”.

In *D.S.D.* col. x, ll. 1 and 2, we learn of how night succeeds day and then in turn gives way to the light of day. The problem is to know where exactly the statement about the revolution of day and night end. It seems to me best to end it at the mention of light in line 2. Thereafter, I would make a new beginning with באופיע “when luminaries shine from the abode of Holiness at the time when they are gathered together to the habitation of Glory at the entrance of Festive Seasons for the days of a New Moon; He renews their circuit with their being bound one to the other: when they are in conjunction (lit. renewed) the mansion is great for the Holy of Holies and the sign is ‘brought’ (נאסף) or, ‘that they are gathered together’ (נאספים) for the opening of His eternal mercies. At the beginning of the Festive seasons in every period that will be”.

If the Qumrân sectaries attempted like the Samaritans to keep the two luminaries, the sun and moon, in rapport, presumably like the Samaritans they would seek to study the relationship of one to the other before the major festivals, which after all occur in two parts of the year, Nisan and Tishri, spring and early autumn. I am aware that Ḥag Shabhu‘oth occurs in an almost intermediate position but its date is settled by the date of Pesaḥ. Even in early Rabbinic Judaism (*cf.* M. *Rosh ha-Shanah*, where the new moon's appearance at Jerusalem was observed and not calculated) the appearance of new moons of the months of festivals was observed with even more care and news of their appearance sent out to all the diverse and scattered communities.

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[1] *The Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. I (O.U.P., 1909).

There is a partial eclipse of sun and moon every month which cannot be observed but calculated. However, twice a year in spring and autumn there is a major conjunction of sun and moon, called the Nodes of the moon, when the orbit of the moon intersects the ecliptic of the sun. This is the basis of the Samaritan calculation of the Zimmuth Pesaḥ, and Zimmuth Sukkoth. It is hardly likely that this was the discovery of the already small Samaritan sect in the Middle Ages. It is more likely that the Samaritan priesthood inherited it from their Zadokite forebears. It is interesting that in Ezekiel xlv, 21–25, which is a Zadokite manifesto, only the feasts of the first and seventh months are mentioned; after all Hag Shabhuʿoth is dependent on the date of the full moon of Nisan plus fifty days or so (depending on how many days after the full moon of Nisan the counting of the fifty days begin). But for the calculation of the full moon of Nisan or of Tishri (separated by six months) it would be essential to have independent observations of both sun and moon if solar and lunar years were to be held together. It is surely significant that on purely astronomical grounds one must recognize that twice a year sun and moon in their separate orbits specially cross the path of one another, and that the point of time of their twice yearly crossing is six months apart as indeed were the feasts of Passover and Tabernacles; it is important, too, to observe that this had been utilised by the Samaritans, who calculated that the full moon of Nisan and the full moon of Tishri should fall sixty days after the spring conjunction and the autumn conjunction of sun and moon respectively. I am aware that the Qumrân Sect divided their year into four periods of three months each, but the major division seems to have been into two half years of six months each (cf. Talmon, *ibid.*, p. 178).

Brownlee's translation[1] of במבוא מועדים as " at the coming together of seasons " hardly does justice to מבוא which is rather " at the entrance of the festive seasons ". The Samaritans refer to the Zimmuth Pesaḥ as שער מועדים, the gate of the Festivals. Brownlee's translation of יחד תקופתם עם מסורתם זה לזה בהתחדשם as " Their circuit along with their cession to each other . . . as they renew themselves ", is not very intelligible. Their circuit must refer to the תקןפות of both the sun and the moon, and יחד need not mean " together " but be third singular masculine imperfect Hiph^{c}il of √חדד, to renew.[2] After all, א *i.e.*, אלהים) ordained the daily dominion of light, further He opens the storehouse of darkness (line 2); God is in control all the time, and He it must be who does something with regard to the orbit of the luminaries in their part in determining bigger time periods. He (God) it is who renews their orbits—that of sun and moon. יחד could be taken this way: in any case Brownlee's " along with " translates only

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[1] *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, Translation and Notes (*B.A.S.O.R.* Supplementary Studies, Nos. 10-12, 1951), p. 38.

[2] Cf. Cowley, *ibid.*, vol. II, Glossary lv.

עם: he in effect treats יחד as at the best redundant. Brownlee's " with their cession to each other . . . as they renew themselves " is hardly intelligible; his note however, does allow that " the word might conceivably be *moserotham* (Job 39, 5) with the meaning ' their bonds ' or ' their connections ' (M.B.) ". This latter undoubtedly is the true rendering: the luminaries are sun and moon, and they are, as it were, at the time under discussion, tied to each other. This could mean that sun and moon are for the Qumrân calendar, by divine arrangement as far as the months are concerned, tied to each other. The Qumrân sect were confronted with the same astronomical facts as any other men: they may as priests have known more about them than laymen, and they doubtless had their own interpretation of the facts. At least it is clear that both luminaries were employed in calculating the appearance of the new moon: this seems to remind us of the calculation of the appearance of the new moon among the Samaritans by finding when the sun and moon are in conjunction. The Samaritans, however, calculated the monthly conjunctions only twice a year. Brownlee understands his translation " as they renew themselves " or his alternative " in their succeeding each other " as referring to each new season succeeding an old one, but it is doubtful if this is actually the case. The reference should rather be to the luminaries the sun and the moon. The sun could be thought of as renewing itself in the spring; and if the Qumrân sect like the Samaritans calculated the conjunction of sun and moon in six monthly periods, spring and autumn would be significant because the sun would be different in the spring from the winter, and in the autumn from the summer. There is in the sense of newness, the sense of being different from what was. But it was not only the sun but the moon that was renewed and here it is worth quoting what the Samaritan Abu'l Hasan As-Suri said of the conjunction:[1]

> " But that on which the Samaritans our companions depended for the purpose of indicating the beginning of the month by means of the conjunction (of the sun and moon) is the right belief. The proof of its being valid is His saying (Exalted is He): ' Thus is the burnt offering of every month throughout the months of the year '. And the ' Month ' in Hebrew is a word for renewal. It means the conjunction of the sun and moon in one mansion: because the conditions of the new moon are divided into three divisions. The first of them is the conjunction, and from the conjunction it begins to increase until it becomes full, and from the fulness it decreases until it fades and then it falls into the conjunction.
>
> And the meaning of the ' renewal ' is that the moon is in a state such as it (the moon) was not during the days of the month. As for

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[1] In Abu'l Hasan's *Kitab al-Tabbakh*, the early manual of Samaritan Tradition. The translation is by Dr. D. M. Abdel Al of Ain Shams University, formerly of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, University of Leeds.

> the daily increase (the same thing) takes place as happened the day before, and similarly it is with the decrease. But whatever bears similarity to something else cannot be called new: and everything that happens (to the moon) during the month is of a similar nature except the conjunction. It is (then) worthy of the name (renewal) because (the conjunction) occurs only once during the whole month. And by each of them (the sun and the moon) the seasons are kept, and the times assigned for honouring (God) do not differ. And that is derived from His saying: ‘ Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in its season from year to year ’.
>
> This is sufficient (to prove) the argument ”.

As will be seen חדש is for the Samaritan the conjunction, the only truly new thing that takes place during the month. Bearing in mind this Samaritan interpretation we can translate בהתחדשם as when the sun and moon are in conjunction. But the conjunction is only when the sun and the moon are in one mansion. For the cryptic הם (*cf. D.S.D.* col. x, l. 4) I would suggest that it is a contraction of המגדל in the sense of constellation. This use of מגדל is clearly attested in Samaritan Liturgy in hymns dealing with the calendar. The Sun and the Moon being in one mansion or constellation would be important for the Holy of Holies, for on this calculation of conjunction of sun and moon, the calendar so important for the proper observation of the Festivals could be determined; the festivals concerned priesthood and sanctuary, but *cf. D.S.D.* viii, line 6: the Qumrân community is itself the Holy of Holies. Brownlee’s translation, “ and the sign Nun is for the unlocking of His eternal mercies ” is improved on by Talmon’s “ trustworthy sign ” as if *nun* is a contraction for *ne’eman*. I wonder if the nun is not a contraction, however, for the Niph‘al participle of אסף *ne’esaph*. Above[1] we have the Niph‘al of ’*asaph* in two senses, “ withdrawn ” and “ gathered ”. In Samaritan hymns for the Zimmuth (Conjunction) the $\sqrt{\text{אסף}}$ is also important. Can it be that *nun* here is for *ne’esaph* in the sense of “ arranged ”: each luminary[2] is gathered and the sign is arranged, composed, brought for the opening of His eternal mercies? Or is the *nun* a contraction for נאספים and the phrase could be rendered “ the sign that they are gathered together ” ?

It is not to be expected that the Qumrân statement on the calendar in *D.S.D.* col. x, should be comprehensive, giving details of calculations: after all, on col. ix the Qumrânite was advised “ to conceal the counsel of the Torah in the midst of men of perversity ”. The matter of the seasons of the community would be one such matter. Like the Samaritan High Priest, the leader of the Qumrân sect would keep to himself the secret of how the calendar was calculated, for *D.S.D.* knows of men that fell away (*cf. D.S.D.*

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[1] *D.S.D.* col. x, ll. 1, 3.

[2] Themselves for signs; cf. Gen. i, 14.

col. vii, 22 f.). The *Manual* tells only of the times, not how they are calculated; but study of a similar priestly controlled sect with a calendar probably deriving from a common Zadokite origin may help us by study of their vocabulary of technical terms, to interpret *D.S.D.*'s cryptic calendar statements aright and show how a sect faced with a similar problem of keeping solar and lunar year in harmony approached that problem. We cannot say that the Samaritan Calendar was the same as Qumrân. It probably had much in common though differing in detail; *cf.*, *e.g.*, the time from which to count the Omer though both differed here from the Rabbanite.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON ZIMMUTH

The term Zimmuth serves three purposes: (*a*) astronomical and calendrical, (*b*) convocation to receive sanctuary dues, (*c*) commemoration of significant meetings of Moses and Aaron. While there is a partial conjunction of sun and moon each month, twice a year (as has been stated in the article) these conjunctions are indeed significant. The conjunction however takes place before the month begins, cf. Abu'l Hasan, *op. cit.*, yet the Samaritan calendar in the fifth month (Ab) and the eleventh month (Shebaṭ) places the Sabbath of the Zimmuth approximately in the middle of the month. The Zimmuth astronomically need not always fall on a Sabbath. It would appear that the Samaritans regard the fifth and eleventh months as the months of the Zimmuth *par excellence* and single out a Sabbath in each of these two months as the Sabbath of (the months) of Zimmuth from whence to commence counting the days to the Festivals of the first and seventh months respectively. Cowley (*Samaritan Liturgy*, O.U.P., 1909, vol. II) in his vocabulary states that the Zimmuth is always sixty days before Passover and Tabernacles. This is corroborated in the case of Zimmuth Sukkoth by examination of the Samaritan calendar published by Gaster in *Studies and Texts*, vol. I (Maggs Bros., 1928, pp. 585 ff.). There in a Samaritan calendar for part of 1910 and 1911 the Zimmuth of Sukkoth is on the sixteenth Ab and is a Sabbath (*cf. ibid.*, p. 591). On p. 596, *ibid.*, the Zimmuth for the following Pesaḥ falls on the twentieth Shebaṭ. One would have thought the previous Sabbath, the thirteenth Shebaṭ, would have been more suitable, on the analogy of the Zimmuth Sukkoth in this calendar, which was one day before the full moon of Ab; but in that case the Zimmuth fell on a Sabbath; in this, the nearest Sabbath after the Zimmuth has been chosen. This seems to be done deliberately so that Passover falls on a certain day. The full moons of Shebaṭ and Ab had significance for the Samaritans as well as the Jews, but the choice of which Sabbath to make the Sabbath of the Zimmuth was settled in relation to the date of Passover.

In the Samaritan Liturgy there are eight Sabbaths of Mofetim; these commence on the Sabbath of Zimmuth Pesaḥ and end on the Sabbath immediately prior to Passover itself. The Mofetim are the plagues which

Moses wrought on the Egyptians and are: (1) התנין, (2) הדם, (3) הצפרדע, (4) הכנים, (5) הערב, (6) המקנה, (7) השחין, (8) הברד. Seven Sabbaths after the Sabbath of Zimmuth Pesaḥ is Shabbath ha-Gadol on which the Samaritans ask the High Priest to accept their lambs for Passover. Eight weeks from the Sabbath of Zimmuth Pesaḥ brings one to the Sabbath of the seven days of unleavened bread. The previous Thursday, fourteenth Nisan, the Samaritans slaughtered the Paschal lamb, and on the Friday[1] had kept the Passover. The Samaritan Passover is usually on a Friday, so that on the Sunday two days later is the beginning of the counting of the Omer. The following Thursday, sixty days after the Sabbath of Zimmuth Pesaḥ, is the pilgrimage of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. The following Sabbath is the first of the seven Sabbaths leading up to Pentecost.

Seven Sabbaths after the Sabbath which is Zimmuth Sukkoth is the Sabbath of the Ten Days of Pentecost: the eight Sabbath after Zimmuth Sukkoth is that immediately before the Feast of Tabernacles. The Ḥag or pilgrimage of Sukkoth is actually fifty-eight days from the Zimmuth Sukkoth, but the full moon of Tabernacles (*cf.* Gaster, *ibid.*, p. 593) is sixty days from Zimmuth Sukkoth. The Zimmuth Sukkoth is also called Zimmuth of Yom Kippur and of Sukkoth. It is interesting that seven Sabbaths lead up from the respective Zimmuths to the Sabbath before Passover and the Day of Atonement, and that the period of sixty days brings one to the Pilgrimage of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles respectively.

The occasions of Zimmuth Pesaḥ and Sukkoth have been used since before the Samaritan Jewish schism for the upkeep of the Temple. There are four *Parashiyyoth* read from the second scroll on the last Sabbath of Shebaṭ and in three Sabbaths in Adar by the Jews, one *Parashah* on each occasion. The Rabbis regarded the commandment as Biblical, *i.e.*, pre-Rabbinic. The passage read on the last Sabbath of Shebaṭ is Ex. xxx, 11–16. Exactly the same passage is read by the Samaritans on the Sabbath of Zimmuth Pesaḥ. The passage deals with the payment of the half shekel for the upkeep of the sanctuary. The Rabbis devoted a whole Tractate in the Mishnah to it. The Samaritans use it as the basis of the tax for the calendar. The Sabbath of Zimmuth Sukkoth corresponds to the fifteenth Ab, which was an old Jewish convocation, a Temple occasion when wood was brought for the altar fires. Mishnah *Ta'anith* 4 largely cites Neh. x, 34, which records the arrangement made as to the bringing of wood for the altar fire (*cf.* also Neh. xiii, 31, where the wood offering and first fruits are mentioned together). In Neh. x, 34, Pentateuchal authority is apparently claimed for the requirement to bring wood. There is, of course, Num. vii, 84, which deals with the dedication of the Tabernacle; like Solomon's Temple, was it dedicated in the autumn? The Samaritans, however, again recite Ex. xxx, 11–16, and the tax of the half-shekel is duly levied once more.

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[1] *Cf.* the date in the Synoptics for the Last Supper (*cf.* Luke xxii, 7). Note incidentally the prominence of Unleavened Bread over Passover in Luke xxii, 1.

The final element in the Zimmuth is the meeting of Moses and Aaron. This is stressed in the qatafim for the services for Zimmuth Pesaḥ as well as in the services for the beginnings of the two months of Mofetim, and Ex. iv, 27, is cited, telling of how Aaron was told to go and meet Moses on his return from Midian. In the service for the beginning of the fifth month and in the Sabbath of Zimmuth Sukkoth, Num. xx, 12–29, is cited, telling of the death of Aaron when he and Moses and Eleazar ascended Mount Hor and Eleazar was invested in Aaron's stead. In the Biblical passages that make up the Qataf for the service for the beginning of the fifth month, references to sun and moon, Moses and Aaron feature as well as citations from the Torah as to necessary offerings for the altar and the shekel tax. The same features in the service of Zimmuth Sukkoth. The Zimmuth services therefore perpetuate to this day, in the Samaritan service, the three elements mentioned at the beginning of this note: the calendar with especial reference to fixing the coming Festivals, the tribute of the altar, and the story of Moses and Aaron as to how the ancestor of the priests was at Zimmuth Pesaḥ associated with Moses in the work of deliverance, and at Zimmuth Sukkoth the priestly office was handed on to the ancestor of the Samaritan and Zadokite priesthood.

TWO NON-ALLEGORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS[1]

By Paul Winter

I

The expression בית אבשלום in 1QpHab, col. V, line 9, has given rise to various speculations. Many readers have seen in the name " Absalom " an allusion to the rebellious son of King David, and have interpreted the passage accordingly. Georg Molin, indeed, stated explicitly that " Absalom " was used in this place as a cryptic appellation and implied revolt as such[2]. Géza Vermès thought that the author of the *Pesher Habakkuk* intended to indicate by the expression " House of Absalom " those priestly families of Ṣadoqite descent that did not rally to the support of the Teacher of Righteousness against the Wicked Priest; in his book *Les manuscrits du Désert de Juda* Vermès offered no more specific explanation of the term[3]. Adam Simon van der Woude also appears to incline to the opinion that the designation " House of Absalom " refers to kinsmen or former allies of the Covenanters who viewed with indifference, or rather inactivity, the conflict between the Righteous Teacher and the Evil Priest[4]. Karl Elliger recognizes a proper name, the appellation of a family, in the two words[5]. Henri E. del Medico, and some writers after him, saw in the בית אבשלום of the Habakkuk Commentary a reference to the Absalom whose name is mentioned in Josephus as that of a companion-in-arms of Menaḥem, the Zealot leader, or to the followers of Menaḥem's lieutenant (*B.J.* II, xvii, 9, § 448).

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[1] In view of the fact that Dr. Winter's article contains arguments and conclusions similar to those presented by Professor Frank M. Cross, Jr., in *The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies*, the Editor wishes to state that the article has been in his hands since March 1958, a month before the publication of Dr. Cross's book.

[2] " [Der Name Absalom] kann nur ein Deckname sein. In Absalom liegt der Begriff der Auflehnung " (Georg Molin: *Die Söhne des Lichtes*, Verlag Herold, Wien 1954, p. 90).

[3] " La ' Maison d'Absalom ' . . . doit s'entendre, à notre sens, des familles sacerdotales qui n'avaient pas soutenu le Docteur de justice " (Géza Vermès: *Les manuscrits du Désert de Juda*, Desclée et Cie, Tournai 1953, p. 105, n. 77).

[4] " Leute von der Gemeinde . . . nachher . . . abtrünnig geworden . . . [die sich] bei der Auseinandersetzung mit dem gottlosen Priester und dem Lügenpropheten rein passiv verhalten haben " (A. S. van der Woude: *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* [Studia Semitica Neerlandica III], Uitgeverij Van Gorcum & Comp., Assen 1957, p. 36). The stress on " subsequent disloyalty " seems to indicate that the author considers the name Absalom to have a symbolical meaning.

[5] " [In den] Verfolgungen [unter denen die Gemeinde] zu leiden gehabt [hat,] . . . spielte eine bestimmte Familie, ' das Haus Absalom ' . . . eine nach der Meinung des Auslegers höchst unrühmliche Rolle" (Karl Elliger: *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [Beiträge zur historischen Theologie XV], J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1953, p. 153).

There are then scholars who believe that " Absalom " is the actual name of a historical person. Oddly enough, the Abbé Albert Michel—who places the events which are referred to in the Habakkuk Commentary in pre-Maccabaean times—not only expressed this opinion but even explicitly referred in his book *Le Maître de Justice*[1] to a leading Jewish family that flourished under the Hasmonaean brethren Jonathan and Simon and derived their descent from a person called Absalom. It must have been a prominent family as it produced military officers of high rank in the struggle for Jewish independence from Seleucid rule. In I Macc. xi, 70 and xiii, 11, respectively, we find the names Ματταθίας ὁ τοῦ 'Αψαλώμου and 'Ιωνάθαν ὁ τοῦ 'Αψαλώμου as those of commanders of detachments who were entrusted with important tasks by the leaders of the Maccabaean forces. In his above named book, on p. 182 (*cf.* also p. 187), Michel states that we possess evidence of a " House of Absalom " in Maccabaean times, a family influential enough to play its part in inner-Jewish affairs[2].

Apart from I Macc. xi, 70, and xiii, 11, references to a family of notables, a " House of Absalom " allied with the Hasmonaean clan, occur in Josephus' *Antiquities* XIII, v, 7, § 161 (Ματθίας ὁ 'Αψαλώμου) and XIII, vi, 4, § 202 'Ιωνάθαν 'Αψαλώμου παῖς) though these have not the value of a primary source[3].

In the two instances quoted, " Absalom " is a patronym, the name of the father (or the fathers?) of Maccabaean officers. In II Macc. xi, 14–21 we read of a deputation sent by Judas Maccabaeus to Lysias; one of Judas' delegates is called 'Αβεσσαλώμ, and might possibly be the father of Mattathias and Jonathan, the founder of the בית אבשלום.

II

In col. IV, line 19, and col. VIII, lines 12, 13, 18 (col. XIX, lines 24–26, 31) of the *Ṣadoqite Fragments* (CD) we find references to persons who are here designated as בוני החיץ or בוני החוץ, as *builders of the wall.* The text in col. VIII, lines 12, 13 goes as follows:

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[1] Maison Aubanel Père, Avignon 1954.

[2] " Nous tenons donc aux temps maccabéens une maison d'Absalom, et une maison illustre qui pouvait jouer un rôle considérable " (Albert Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

[3] There was another Absalom who played a certain rôle in affairs of state during the Hasmonaean reign. He was a son of John Hyrcanus and survived his brother Alexander Jannaeus. He appears to have thrown in his lot with the Sadducaean party, and was taken captive by Pompey in the year 63 B.C.E. when the latter overcame the resistance of the supporters of Aristobulus II and conquered the Temple Mount (*Ant.* XIV, iv, 4, § 71; *cf.* Psalms of Solomon ii 6, 14, viii, 23, 24, xvii 14). This Absalom is by Professor André Dupont-Sommer connected with the " House of Absalom " of 1QpHab, in an endeavour to identify the Teacher of Righteousness with Onias, *i.e.*, Ḥoni the rain-maker, or circle-drawer.

אלה לא הבינו בוני החוץ וטחי התפל
כי שוקלי[1] רוח ומטיף כזב הטיף להם[2]
אשר חרה אף אל בכל עדתו

Column XIX, lines 24–26, contains a variant text with minor amplifications. It is assumed that the expression בוני החיץ was derived from Ezekiel xiii, 10, and again it has sometimes been maintained that a symbolical, or metaphorical, meaning was attached to the term. Before one tries to establish the exact meaning of these words, as intended by the writer of the *Ṣadoqite Fragments*, one might compare them with a passage in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, col. X, lines 9, 10, which reads:

פשרו הדבר על
מטיף הכזב אשר התעה רבים
לבנות עיר שוו בדמים ולקים עדה בשקר

The word חיץ or חוץ in CD apparently stands for the same thing or the same notion as that which is implied by the word עיר in 1QpHab. Certainty about the writer's intention is still difficult because of the parallelism between עיר and עדה in the latter passage[3]. However, the proposition that the words בוני החיץ were used in a metaphorical sense has become less probable since the publication of *Testimonia* passages discovered in Qumrān Cave 4[4] that contain amongst their quotations a small fragment from what originally appears to have been a *Pesher Joshua.* This fragment refers to the "building of a wall and towers", to serve as "stronghold of wickedness", and unambiguously mentions Jerusalem as the place around which wall and towers were built. There can be no doubt but that the writer of the fragmentarily preserved " Commentary " on Joshua spoke disapprovingly of a contemporary fortification of Jerusalem. The case is the more significant because of the arbitrary interpretation in which the writer of the *Pesher* indulged; in Joshua vi, 26, M.T., we read: " Cursed the man . . . who builds this city Jericho . . . "—yet the author of the document from Qumrān (or of the document from which our author quoted) interprets the canonical passage as referring to the re-fortification of the City of Jerusalem. It is true that in the extant Greek text of Joshua vi, 26, there is no equivalent for the words את־יריחו, and we may infer that the writer of the recently discovered document quoted a Hebrew text which did not contain these words. Yet a Palestinian Jew who read Joshua in Hebrew could not under any circumstances have been under a misapprehension as to what city was meant here. The more arbitrary was the interpretation to which he subjected the text. Such an arbitrary interpretation could not have been the result of mere chance. It presupposes an intense party-spirit and deeply rooted animosity against that faction of the Jewish nation that was engaged in " building a wall " around Jerusalem. So great was the aversion the writer of the *Pesher* felt for this Jewish group that he sought, and found, prophetic proof of their accursedness, no matter how much violence he did to the prophetic text.

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[1] The reading is indistinct. Schechter understood מבוהל, Rost שוקל.

[2] Compare Micah ii, 11. The passage in Micah seems to have influenced in particular the variant in CD col. XIX, lines 24–26.

[3] Vermès warns against an equation of the *builders of the wall* with the builders of a city: "Il nous semble . . . que les ≪ bâtisseurs de murailles ≫ . . . sont autre chose que de . . . maçons . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 98).

Van der Woude accepts a figurative meaning of בוני החוץ (see *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 235, 241.

Herbert Braun also understands these words in a metaphorical sense: ". . . die Grenzverwischer . . ." (*Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus. Jesus von Nazareth und die essenische Qumransekte* [Beiträge zur historischen Theologie XXIV], J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen 1957, vol. 1, p. 91, n. 5). He interprets 1QpHab col. X, lines 9, 10, as directed against persons who preached "den Abfall von der verschärften Tora" (*loc. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 94, n. 5) and explains the בוני החיץ of CD as "die Mauererbauer, d.i. die der Toraverschärfung der Sekte Widerstand Leistenden" (*loc. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 108, n. 3).

[4] John M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature" (*JBL* 75, 1956, pp. 174–187), on pp. 185–186.

It is alluring to relate the three passages in CD col. VIII, lines 12, 13 (col. XIX, lines 24–26), in 1QpHab, col. X, lines 9, 10, and in 4Q *Testimonia* (document IV, lines 21–30) to a definite event in Jewish history which the Covenanters viewed differently from the main body of their compatriots. Some difficulty arises from the fact that each of our three documents uses a diverse term to indicate the object of " building ": in one case it is חיץ, in the other עיר, in the third חומה ומגדלים. The relevant passage in the document published by Allegro runs thus:

> [ויצ]יבו לה חומה ומגדלים
> לעשות לעוז רשע ··· בישראל ···
> [וע]שו ···[ד]ם כמים על חל בת ציון[1]
> ובחוק ירושלמ[2]

Whilst חוֹמָה means a *protective wall of fortification*, חַיִץ (from the verb חָצַץ)

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[1] Compare Micah iii, 10.

[2] Allegro (*loc. cit.*, p. 187, n. 109) recognizes here an allusion to the rebuilding of the city walls of Jerusalem under Hyrcanus II. He issues, however, a not unreasonable warning against historical deductions based exclusively on such fragmentarily preserved texts.

See also van der Woude, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–122.

is attested as having the meaning *dividing screen*, or *wall of partition* (*Scheidewand*, as distinct from *Befestigungsmauer*) and an interchange between the two expressions, though not impossible, is not borne out by lexical evidence. An element of uncertainty remains as regards the identity of events to which our various documents refer, but what emerges from these texts with clarity is that the Covenanters disapproved of the erection of fortifications around Jerusalem.

Jerusalem was many times in history surrounded with protective walls. Of one such fortification of the city speaks I Macc. x, 10–11, 45 (*cf. Antiquities* XIII, ii, 1, § 41 and XIII, ii, 3, § 57). Another is mentioned in I Macc. xii, 36, 37 (*Ant.* XIII, v, 11, § 181). Both took place under the leadership of Jonathan. The uncompleted work of strengthening the city walls was continued under Simon's command before the death of Jonathan, as I Macc. xiii, 10 (*Ant.* XIII, vi, 4, § 202) records, and was brought to its end after the death of Jonathan, as can be read in I Macc. xiii, 48, 52 (compare *Ant.* XIII, vi, 7, §§ 215–217)[1].

III

The above attempt to show that concrete historical references are contained in the expressions בית אבשלום and בוני החיץ cannot be said to be demonstrative. The argument from the words בית אבשלום must remain tentative in view of the fact that several holders of the name Absalom are known to have belonged to the period in which—on general considerations—the events referred to in the Scrolls from the Judaean Wilderness could have taken place, and because besides those known there might have been other persons of the same name who also played some part in the history of this period but of whom no memory has survived in records at our disposal.

Any inference drawn from the second of the instances quoted has intrinsic weakness in the fact that חיץ and חומה in CD and in 4Q *Testimonia*, respectively, are treated as if they were used as synonyms, both being understood as pertaining to the עיר of 1QpHab. Even if—in view of the similarity of the contexts—such an interpretation is considered admissible, it still remains debatable to which of the numerous subsequent fortifications of Jerusalem the two, or three, passages might refer. Accordingly neither argument can supply a *definite* indication as to the historical setting of the events that had such influence on the development of the sect from Qumrān.

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[1] The fortifications erected by Jonathan and afterwards by Simon were pulled down under the terms of agreement between Antiochus VII Sidetes and John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XIII, viii, 3, § 247). John Hyrcanus later rebuilt the city walls under circumstances of which we have little information (I Macc. xvi, 23)—probably during the contention in Syria for the succession to Antiochus (compare *Ant.* XIII, x, 1, § 273).

We should perhaps not try to pin the appellation " Wicked Priest " to *one* specific person nor attempt correlating terms and data such as are found in the Dead Sea Scrolls with occurrences in the life of one such person. The possibility has to be considered that the term " Wicked Priest " was used as a standing epithet, applied to *all* high-priests of the Hasmonaean line. The Covenanters, led by priests, established their headquarters in the Wilderness and did not recognize any of the ruling priests of Mattathias' house as their *princeps*. They might have coined the expression כהן הרשע as a quip, a pun, on the כהן הראש in Jerusalem, whoever it was who held that office at a given time. Word-plays of this sort are not unusual in Hebrew : we may think of the substitution of שקוץ שמם for בעל שמים in Daniel.

Nevertheless the arguments in question are here submitted for consideration, for they appear to confirm the conclusions which Géza Vermès[1] and more recently the Abbé Joseph T. Milik[2] have reached concerning the identity of the כהן הרשע and certain events in history by which the Covenanters from the Judaean Wilderness were affected.

A third argument, of greater weight, may be based on the Festival Calendar of the Covenanters. The difference between this calendar and that of the official priesthood in Jerusalem has often been noticed[3]. The reference to twenty-six priestly courses occurring in the *Megillath Milḥamah*, col. II, line 2[1], removes any doubt as to what type of calendar the Covenanters used. Two systems of calendar reckoning were simultaneously in use at a certain time during the Second Jewish Commonwealth: a calendar of a lunar-solar type and another calendar based on a solar (or quasi-solar) system of time-computation. The former was the ordinary civil calendar; the latter—at least for the Qumrān sectaries—a sacred calendar, regulative for determining seasons and festivals[2]. On this question scholars are unanimous. There is, however, a dispute as to whether the solar calendar—requiring 26 instead of 24 priestly orders—was a sectarian *innovation* or whether it represented the *older practice* of the Temple Service which, at a certain juncture, was abandoned in favour of an admission of the ordinary, civil, calendar to the service in the Temple. Did the sectarians insist on continuing a practice that previously had been observed in the sanctuary at Jerusalem, but was subsequently modified—or did they create for their own use a new calendar which was at variance with any heretofore observed by Jews? Shmaryahu Talmon[3] holds the view that the Covenanters added two additional courses of priests to the normal number of twenty-four so as to meet their peculiar preference for a solar calendar system. He speaks of " the secondary nature of the sect's order of priestly courses, fashioned for a different time-reckoning and adapted to their requirements by a process of patching "[4]. On the other hand the Abbé Milik assigns priority to the calendar which required 26 priestly orders to officiate during the course of a solar year[5]. The question, which of these two views is correct, can only be answered after a new examination of the festival calendar in the Books of Chronicles and in Ezra/Nehemiah has been undertaken[6] with regard to the argument under review. Before this is done, it would be unsafe to choose between the opposing opinions. No more than surmises can be ventured.

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[1] In *Où en est la question des manuscrits de la Mer Morte?* (Cahiers Sioniens 7, 1953, pp. 63–76); *Les manuscrits du Désert de Juda*, pp. 94–97 (indications pointing to Jonathan), pp. 97–100 (indications pointing to Simon).

[2] *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda*, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1957, pp. 56–58.

[3] Shmaryahu Talmon, " Yom Hakkipurim in the Habakkuk Scroll " (*Biblica* 32, 1951, pp. 549–563), on p. 551–552.

William Hugh Brownlee, " Light on the Manual of Discipline (DSD) from the Book of Jubilees " (*BASOR* 123, 1951, pp. 30–32).

D. Barthélemy, O.P., " Notes en marge de publications récentes sur les manuscrits de Qumran " (*RB* 59, 1952, pp. 187–218) on pp. 199–203.

André Dupont-Sommer, " Contribution à l'exégèse du Manuel de Discipline X 1–8 " (*VT* 2, 1952, pp. 229–243); *Nouveaux Aperçus sur les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, L'Orient Ancien Illustré, Paris, 1953, pp. 145–156; *The Jewish Sect of Qumrān and the Essenes. New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., London, 1954, pp. 107–117; " Le Problème des influences étrangères sur la secte juive de Qoumrân " (*RHPR* 35, 1955, pp. 75–92) on p. 89.

Annie Jaubert, " Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân, Ses origines bibliques " (*VT* 3, 1953, pp. 250–264); " La date de la dernière Cène " (*RHR* 146, 1954, pp. 140–173) on pp. 154–156; " Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine " (*VT* 7, 1957, pp. 35–61); *La Date de la Cène, Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne.* Gabalda et Cie, Paris, 1957, especially pp. 20–27, 53, n. 1.

Ernst Vogt, S. J., " Antiquum Kalendarium Sacerdotale " (*Biblica* 36, 1955, pp. 403–408); " Kalenderfragmente aus Qumran " (*Biblica* 39, 1958, pp. 72–77).

J. van der Ploeg, O.P., " Les manuscrits trouvés depuis 1947 dans le Désert de Juda " (*Jaarbericht No.* 14 *van het Vooraziatisch Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden 1955/56, pp. 85–110) on p. 101.

J. T. Milik: *Dix ans . . .*, pp. 70–74.

General surmises are not to be relied upon in any attempt to establish the historical setting of a sect whose writings have only recently become known. Recognizing the relative value of such rough guesses, we may nevertheless ask: what inducement could there have been for a community that claimed to uphold the primordial traditions of Israel to introduce a new scheme in its festival observance, namely a calendar system that was at variance with the one previously accepted? On the other hand, the introduction in the Temple Service of the ordinary calendar—the same as was used by the population at large in every-day life—could well be understood as a concession to convenience by a recently installed high-priestly family which owed its accession to authority to a revolutionary act of the people. Such a measure presumably would have been appreciated by the ordinary people, especially those who lived outside Jerusalem, as it would have facilitated compliance with cultic demands—though it may have offended more conservative sentiments. From the start, Mattathias and his sons, country dwellers themselves, relied upon popular support against the nobility of priestly families in Jerusalem. Even after those amongst the priests who stood behind the hellenizing drive had been deposed from office, and their adherents had been either killed or compelled to leave Jerusalem for the safety of Antioch, it was ὁ δῆμος (I Macc. xiv, 25) whose affection for his cause enabled Simon to establish the Hasmonaean dynasty with some degree of permanency. The congregation which rallied on the 18th Elul 172 of the Seleucid era (= September, 141 B.C.E.) to pass the resolution mentioned in I Macc. xiv, 27b–45 (–47)[1] comprised "priests and people and princes of the nation", yet it is plain from the contents of this resolution that the driving force was the ordinary people, not the Jewish aristocracy. The decree prohibits in strong language assemblies in the country convoked without Simon's authority (I Macc. xiv, 44). This stipulation leads us to suspect that there existed at the time remnants of the older priestly nobility who viewed with misgivings certain regulations introduced by a high-priest who was of other than Ṣadoqite descent.

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[1] Paul Winter: " Twenty-Six Priestly Courses " (*VT* 6, 1956, pp. 215–217).

[2] It has been generally recognized that this was a calendar of the type described in the books of Enoch and of Jubilees. Differences between the descriptions in these two books do not concern us here.

[3] " The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert " (in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Scripta Hierosolymitana* IV, Publications of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1958, pp. 162–199).

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 172.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 73–74. Compare also the above referred to studies by Annie Jaubert (p. 43, note 3).

[6] Cf. A. Jaubert, " Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine " (*VT* 7, 1957, pp. 35–61), on p. 47.

If Jonathan is to be identified with the Wicked Priest, the migration of the Covenanters from Jerusalem to their desert retreat must have preceded the promulgation of the decree preserved in I Macc. xiv. The reference to the בית גלות of the Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab, col. XI, line 6, and the information in CD col. I, lines 9, 10, about the Teacher's public appearance after "twenty years" (of indecision and wavering between contending parties?)[1] would require us to place these events before the third year of Simon's high-priesthood and before the proclamation of the decree just mentioned. It would be rash to be dogmatic on this point, yet it might be worth-while to consider whether or not an ordinance providing that Simon should have sole charge of the sanctuary (I Macc. xiv, 42) and banishing assemblies in the country convened without Simon's consent could have a bearing on a secessionary movement led by priests.

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[1] See Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin,^{9} 1958, p. 257, n. 1.

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[1] If these 20 years are reckoned from the accession of Alcimus (163/2–160/59 B.C.E.) to the high-priesthood, as the terminus a quo, to the secession of the Covenanters from Jerusalem as the terminus ad quem, it would rule out the possibility of identifying Jonathan with the כהן הרשע. If on the other hand an earlier date than that of Alcimus' accession—perhaps the year in which Onias III was murdered—is accepted as the starting point of "twenty years", or if this period is taken to be only an approximate, perhaps slightly exaggerated, indication of the actual time-lag, Vermès' and Milik's proposition has much to commend itself. The data from 1QpHab that point to Jonathan as the adversary of the sect are so strong that even Dr. van der Woude—who himself sees the Wicked Priest in Alexander Jannaeus—nevertheless excellently summarized the causes why the Ḥasidim, presumably the forerunners of the New Covenanters, must already have been dismayed with Jonathan's government. "Sie müssen die Folgen der makkabäischen Erhebung . . . mehr und mehr mit Misstrauen betrachtet haben, das seinen Höhepunkt erreichte, als Jonathan sich . . . von . . . Alexander Balas zum Hohepriester ernennen liess und . . . Purpurmantel und . . . Krone als Zeichen eines Vasallenfürsten des syrischen Reiches annahm. Nicht nur, . . . dass . . . eine Person im Tempel fungierte, deren Verhalten . . . dem eines rücksichtslosen Politikers und Militärs entsprach, muss den Strenggläubigen kaum erträglich gewesen sein, sondern auch, dass ein kleiner Dorfpriester aus dem unbekannten Modein dieses Amt bekleidete, der weder dem aaronitischen noch dem zadokitischen Uradel angehörte (*op. cit.*, p. 219). *Cf.* Ethelbert Stauffer, "Probleme der Priestertradition" (*ThLZ* 81, 1956, col. 135–150) on col. 140; Hans-Joachim Schoeps, "Die Opposition gegen die Hasmonäer (*ThLZ* 81, 1956, col. 663–670) on col. 665.

On Jonathan's conduct of affairs see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 252–255, and Milik, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

THRAKIDAN, THE "LION OF WRATH" AND ALEXANDER JANNAEUS

By John M. Allegro

Among the recently published[1] fragments of two Qumran scrolls we find the phrase כפיר החרון, which I have provisionally translated *The Lion of Wrath.* The historical context of the column of 4QpNahum in which the name appears twice leaves little doubt that "the Lion" who "crucified men" is to be identified with the Jewish priest-king, Alexander Jannaeus[2]. This being the case, one would expect to find some connection between the Scrolls pseudonym and that nickname which Josephus tells us was bestowed upon the king after the terrible cruelty he showed towards his rebellious subjects. This is given in the Greek as *Θρακίδαν*[3], a meaningless term[4] which now, thanks to the Scrolls, for the first time becomes intelligible. It is clearly the combination of two elements of which the first is *Θήρ*, "beast of prey, esp. a lion"[5] contracted[6] and joined with the genitive plural of *ἀκίς,—ίδος*, "point, splinter, barb, etc" to form a single word, its ending being assimilated to a singular noun. The uncontracted form was then *Θήρ (τῶν) ἀκίδων*, probably a rendering of כפיר (ה)חחים "lion of (the) barbs (thorns)"[7], with particular reference to Ezek, xix, 4, 9 (ויבאהו

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[1] Cf. Allegro, *JBL* 75 (1956), pp. 89–95.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 92. The whole point of the text's concern that this terrible practice was "never before done *in Israel*", is, of course, that it had never before been done by a *Jew* to *Jews*, and the reason why it was so abhorred is then stated in the text. The biblical precept of Deut. xxi, 23 would be of little concern to foreigners who, doubtless, had been inflicting this punishment on Jews for centuries. Cf. also F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 1958, pp. 91ff.

[3] *Antiquities* XIII, xiv, 2.

[4] Cf. Allegro, *op. cit.*, p. 92, n. 4.

[5] Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Lex.*, *s.v.* *Thēr* was presumably chosen over the most exact *leōn* as being more adaptable to such phrase-making, as well as implying more of the "predatory beast". Cf. *Θηρὸς βαρβάρου ὀργὰς ἔχων* of Menelaus (II Macc. iv, 25). The very neatness of the Greek sobriquet suggests that Josephus is reporting a form which had a circulation on its own account among Greek-speaking Jews.

[6] As *Θρασυγνώστους* for *Θῆρας ἀγνώστους* in *Wisdom of Solomon* xi, 18 (Cod. Sinaiticus).

[7] Aquila renders חחיים (Qrē חחים) at Ezek. xxix, 4, by *akidas*. For the same semantic development as in חוֹחַ "thorn"—חַח "barb, hook", cf. סיר and סירות (Amos iv, 2), צֵן and צִנָּה, and probably in שֻׂכּוֹת (Job xl, 31), see below.

בחחים, ויתנהו בסוגר בחחים; both said of the *k^ephîr* of *vv.* 3, 5), from which whole passage the Scrolls lion figure may well have originated[1].

Furthermore, the habitual lair of the lion in OT is the סֹךְ or סֻכָּה, " thicket "[2], words which are probably related to, and in the latter case is phonetically, at this period, indistinguishable from[3],* שֻׂכָּה, " barb, spear "[4], again the semantic equivalent of ἀκίς. Possible associations of this group of words to the mass crucifier, Jannaeus, come easily to mind, *e.g.*, Syr. *sekkîn*, " nails, stakes ", the Feast of *Sukkôth* (Tabernacles) where the rebellion first showed itself[5], whilst the sight of the priest-king prowling around the altar behind the wooden palisade (מסוכה, משכה ?)[6] he had erected for his protection from the worshippers[7], might have given the picture of " the lion of the thicket " added cogency.

Yet, with all this, the word *akis* is not the most obvious rendering of Semitic words for " thorns, barbs " and is uncommon enough to be almost completely absent from the LXX[8]. One suspects a word-play in the Greek, and it is reasonable to suppose that in some way it is related to the link connecting " lion of the barbs/thorns " with כפיר החרון of the Scrolls.

The Qumran expression would be straightforward enough were it not for the fact that *ḥārôn* is used in the OT almost entirely for *divine* wrath[9]. Its use here for the unrighteous enemy is of itself strange. One of the two apparent OT exceptions to this rule is in Ps. lviii, 10, where MT reads:

בטרם יבינו סירתיכם אטד כמו חי כמו חָרוֹן ישערנו

and is rendered by RV, somewhat dubiously: " Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away with a whirlwind, the green and the burning alike ". The commonly proposed emendations of סירתיכם אטד to סִירֹת כְּמוֹ אטד, and חי to חוֹחַ[10], give us three words meaning " thorn " of some kind, סיר[11], אטד, and חוח. From parallelism alone, it seems at least likely that חרון has a similar meaning, and perhaps this may be found in the חרי יונים, "doves' dung" of II Kings vi, 25. There we are told that the wretched inhabitants of Samaria were reduced to paying five pieces of silver for a quarter of a *qab* of this commodity, long thought to have been some vegetable product. Confirmation of this has come from Akkadian sources which speak of a seed called by this precise name[1]. Its parent plant is a *thorn*, and we shall have cause to discuss its identity later. For the moment it is sufficient for our purpose to suggest that in the חרון of Ps. lviii, 10[2], as well as in the Qumran nickname for Jannaeus, we have a contracted form of the same expression[3]. Its relevance for the Essene and others who suffered from the king's tyranny is perhaps sufficiently explained by pointing out the similarity in sound between *yônah*, "dove" and *Yannai*, the Hebrew form of Jannaeus' name[4], with a very likely play also on *yôneh*, "oppressor".

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[1] That the figure of the כפיר החרון was not coined especially for pNah. seems indicated by its use also in 4QpHos, (cf. Allegro, *op. cit.*, p. 93), where we have the play on כפיר החרון and כוהן האחרון. One suspects, too, that there is a conscious play on כפר, " deny " (NH, Aram), used in Pesh. of Matt. x, 33 (*arneomai*) and frequently. Syr. can use the pass. part. *k^ephîr* of the devil (cit. Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, *s.v.*, cf. I Pet, v, 8. Note also *kāphûrā*' " unbeliever ", etc.; is there a play on this root in יום הכפורים in 1QpHab xi, 7?

[2] Jer. xxv, 38; Ps. x, 9; lxxvi, 3; Job xxxviii, 40.

[3] Note the confusion in OT between the roots סכב and שׂכב, סוך and שׂוך.

[4] Found only in the plural in Job xl, 31 (׀ צלצל דגים).

[5] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII, xiii, 5.

[6] Cf. Mic. vii, 4; Isa v, 5.

[7] Cf. Jos. *Ant.*, *loc. cit.*

[8] Apart from the Aq. rendering quoted in n. 7 above, it is used for לטש in Job xvi, 11 (10).

[9] Cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lex.*, *s.v.*

[10] Cf. Kittel, *Bib. Hebr.*^{3}, *loc. cit.*

[11] So. LXX, Symm., O. Lat, Targ.

Happily, the use of this unedifying epithet applied to their arch-enemy receives remarkable confirmation in the Damascus Document. There we read[5] that "the builders of the wall" (Ezek. xiii, 10) are those "that have walked after *Ṣāw* (צו)," who, in turn, "is a preacher (מטיף[6])". The expression *Ṣāw* comes, of course, from Hos. v, 11, which, as Rabin points out[7], is rendered by Jerome as if he saw *ṣô'ah* (צואה), which could mean "filth, excrement", and is thus rendered by Gaster in the CD passage[8].

It would appear from Josephus that the Greek version of Jannaeus' nickname was widely known, and it would not be surprising if the Qumran version were not equally popular. This might explain how the other "improper" use of חרון in the OT came about. It is to be found in Jer. xxv, 38, in the expression חֲרוֹן הַיּוֹנָה "wrath of the oppressor"[9], where some MSS., the Versions and the two other parallel passages (xlvi, 16; l, 16) give what was clearly the original construct noun חרב, "sword". The solution to this little problem of substitution becomes clear when we examine more closely the identity of the thorn חרי יונים, " doves ' dung ".

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[1] Löw, *Flora den Jüden*, i, 601.

[2] And perhaps in Jer. xvii, 6, for חררים במדבר (|| ערער בערבה) where LXX has *halimos* (|| *agriomurikē*) perhaps "salt-wort" (Liddell and Scott, *Lex.* s.v.), as in Job xxx, 4, for מלוח and רתם.

[3] For a similar contraction, cf. MT הֵרֹנֵךְ "thy conception" (Gen. iii, 16) for הריונך (Samaritan; cf. Hos. ix, ii; Ruth iv, 13).

[4] יַנַּיא, יַנַּיי (cf. Luke, iii, 24, Ἰανναί), contracted from יונתן (cf. J. Dérenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, i, 1867, pp. 95f., n. 1). In view of other contractions like יוחי for יוחנן and יוסי for יוסף, quoted by Dérenbourg, one would have expected *yônai* for *yônāthān*, which perhaps was too uncomfortably close to *yôneh* (*yônē*), "oppressor", for it to remain the "official" form.

[5] Cf. CD iv, 19.

[6] Cf. CD i, 14–15: בעמוד איש הלצון אשר הטיף לישראל מימי כזב and viii 13, 1QpHab x, 9, 1QpMic ff. 8–10, 1.4.

[7] Cf. *The Zadokite Documents*, 1954, pp. 16f.

[8] Cf. *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect.*, 1956, p. 76.

[9] Vulg. *columba* "dove". MT fem. sing. participle, thus RV: "the oppressing (sword)", others fem. sing. collective = "oppressors" (cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lex.*, *s.v.*).

From the earliest times there seems to have been some confusion between the thorny desert bush which bears in its pods the small, black, bubble-like seeds which gave the plant its popular name, and a much larger tree, " with a hemispherical comus, often 40 ft. in diameter ", and having " dark glossy evergreen foliage ", the *Ceratonia Siliqua* L.[1] Both were called the *carob* (Akk. *ḫarubu*, Aram. חרובא, NH חֲרוּב, and Arab. *ḫarrûb*^{un} or *ḫurnûb*^{un}), but the first is usually distinguished by the epithet " thorny "[2]. It has long been suggested that in Isa. 1, 20, the MT חֶרֶב " sword " should be read חֲרֻב, " carob ", the expression חרב תאכלו then meaning " ye shall eat carob pods ", *i.e.* (like the Prodigal Son with his κεράτια, Luke xv, 16) live in poverty[3]. It seems at least possible, then, that the problematical חרון of Jer. xxv, 38 began life as a marginal witticism inspired by the expression חרב היונה of the text, and then finally displaced the proper reading. If this is so, we have a confirmation that the supposed contraction of חרי יונה to חרון could and did take place.

We may now turn back to the second element of Jannaeus' Greek nickname and see why the unusual word was *akis* used to express the חרון/סך/חח of the proposed Semitic originals.

The *Ceratonia Siliqua*, the large, cultivated carob of the hills, is popularly known as the " honey-locust tree " and its fruit, or, rather, the seed-pods, " St. John's Bread ". This reflects a long-standing tradition among pilgrims that it was this foodstuff which is meant by " locusts " in the NT description of St. John the Baptist's desert diet (Matt. iii, 4; Mark i, 6)[4]. But, as Post has pointed out, the *Ceratonia Siliqua* is not a desert plant, although it is true that its pods " consist of a leathery case, enclosing a sweet pulpy substance, in which the seeds are embedded. This pulp is edible and nutritious, and is often eaten by the poorer people "[5]. On the other hand, the *thorny* carob, whose pods also contain seeds which are edible, howbeit only " in cases of difficulty or distress "[6], is very definitely a desert shrub and could well have formed part of the Baptist's diet. It seems possible that the pilgrims' tradition is at least partly correct, but that they have applied the name " locust tree " to the more cultivated plant with which their travels in inhabited areas would have made them more familiar. When we note that the Greek of John the Baptist's " locusts " is *ἀκρίς,—ίδος*, we can perhaps see the reason for the use of *ἀκίς,—ίδος* in Jannaeus' Greek nickname. Thus *Θρακίδαν* cleverly combined **כפיר (ה)חחים/סכות**, " lion of the thorns, barbs-thickets (stakes, nails—Tabernacles) ", with its concurrent form, **כפיר החרון**, " lion of wrath " (?)—thorny carob, " dung of a dove "—of an oppressor—of Yannai (Jannaeus).

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[1] Cf. G. E. Post, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (*HDB*), ii, 439^{a}; *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*^{2}, i, 1932, p. 440.

[2] Ar. *ḫarrûb*^{u} (or *ḫurnûb*^{u}) *'l-shāwk*^{i}*;* otherwise known as *yanbûtat*^{un} or " the wild carob " (cf. Lane *Arabic-Eng. Lex.* I, ii, 717^{a}; for other names cf. Dozy, *Suppl. aux. dict. arabes*, i, 1881, 357^{a}. The Akk. sources quoted by Campbell Thompson (*Iraq* (1938), p. 24) derive both ^{iṣ} *ḫa-ru-bu* " carob " and ZID TU-ḪU $^{(pl)}$ from ^{iṣ} Ú-GIR, the latter Sumerian combination meaning literally " thorn + flower " (*ib.*, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, 1949, p. 184). Thompson notes that " Curiously ZID TU-ḪU is prescribed alongside ZID ^{iṣ} *ḫa-ru-bi* . . . in the same recipe ".

[3] Cf. Midrash Rabbah to Leviticus 35; T. K. Cheyne *Enc. Bib.* ii, 2136; G. B. Gray, *Isaiah* (ICC), 1912, p. 30.

[4] Cf. Post, *Flora, loc. cit.*

[5] *HDB, loc. cit.*

[6] Quoted Lane, *Lex.*, *loc. cit.*

SHORT NOTES ON SOME HITHERTO UNRECORDED PREHISTORIC SITES IN TRANSJORDAN

By Diana V. W. Kirkbride

The four sites mentioned in these notes were noticed and visited briefly during the course of various journeys by car. The artifacts and sherds collected are all at the Amman Museum. It is hoped to be able to publish fuller reports and to revisit some of these sites at a later date, but in the meantime a brief mention of their whereabouts will be of use.

Basta (Grid 201/959. Map 1 : 250,000. Sheet 3).

The new Ma'an-Wadi Musa road cuts through this site which is visible as a dark line in the embankment on the west side, the east side of the road being flat. It is situated about a mile beyond Ail going towards Petra, over the brow of the hill from which the village of Basta can be seen lying well off the road to the right-front. The site extends from just beyond the brow of the hill down to the point where the old road meets the new near Basta. A large spring flows nearby and presumably formed the reason for the establishment of a settlement there from the earliest times.

The site lies on both sides of the road, and is flat, there being no depth of deposit. The bulldozers had done their work well and completely obliterated quite a large area, but nevertheless a great deal remains, and quite a large amount of sherds and flint artifacts were collected. According to a few notes made at the time the pottery bases were flat, and one bore a mat impression; there was half an upper section of a spouted vessel with a hole-mouth; many sherds and flints were collected and of the latter a broken fan-scraper was noted. The impression gained from the material at the time was that the site is Chalcolithic, with some Early Bronze. This conclusion must of necessity be tentative until the material has been properly studied. It should be emphasized most strongly that apart from collecting and packing the material there has been no opportunity to do any further work on it. It is, however, interesting to note the probable connection between the spouted hole-mouth jar and fan-scraper with Perrot's Chalcolithic site at Tell Abu Matar near Beersheba (1955), and Nelson Glueck's series of Chalcolithic sites in the Negeb (1957), as well as with the sites of this period found in Wadi Fara (MacDonald *et al.*, 1932). It seems highly probable that this site at Basta provides the hitherto missing evidence for the presence of Chalcolithic sites in Southern Transjordan.

SALIHI (Grid 228/171. Map 1 : 250,000. Sheet 1).

Travelling from Amman to Jerash, after crossing the great plain lying below Suweileh, the road winds through hills until a steep wadi is seen cutting down on its left side. On the far side of this wadi, and set back from it, stands the village of es Salihi, founded on a large expanse of black occupation earth—much larger in fact that the modern village. It is not this site, which has been recorded by Glueck (1939), that is to be mentioned here.

At a point where the road draws level with Salihi there is a small embankment on its right side. This embankment rises to about three metres and shades off again gradually on each side, the whole being about 50 metres long. The road has been cut through an occupation site at this point, and the dark level can be seen in the embankment, where two vertical streaks indicating house walls are also visible.

A number of sherds and flint artifacts were collected from the section, and from the small field on the left side of the road which borders the wadi. Once again the finds await detailed study. Some of the pottery was very primitive, and there were a number of sherds from hand-made clumsy bowls on flat bases. One sherd, almost a complete section of a small vessel, was picked out from between the two walls. It was hand-made, of red-burnished ware with incised chevrons in a reserved band. One other sherd of the same kind from elsewhere in the section showed that this was not an isolated example. The presence of this distinctive ware suggests that this site can be dated to the Pottery Neolithic period.

‘AIN EN-NEBI. (Grid 188/239. Map 1 : 250,000. Sheet 1).

This spring lies on the right of the Jerash-Mafrak track. About 5 miles from Jerash, after crossing a high range of hills, the track descends into a valley-basin before climbing another range beyond. This valley is wide on the left of the track and, enclosed by hills, its head lies at the foot of the hills which here form a bay. On the right of the track lies the spring, and the valley here continues and eventually joins the Zerqa.

On the left of the road, lying in the valley head at the base of the hills is a large expanse of occupation earth. On examination this proved to be a flint with pottery site, but the material that was collected was poor and it is not possible to date it with certainty.

Another occupation site lies to the right of the road. Again the black earth shows plainly. This also proved to be an early site with flints present.

Both these sites need further visits before more can be said about them.

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LILITH

Heb. לילית "*goat-sucker, night-jar*" (Is. xxxiv, 14).

By G. R. Driver

The meaning of *lîlît*, "screech-owl" (A.V.) or "night-monster" (A.V. mg., R.V.), as it has been variously translated, has long been a matter of doubt, and neither of these renderings is wholly satisfactory.

The ancient translators are equally at sea. The LXX's ὀνοκένταυρος, "tail-less ape (?)", which they use also for *'îyîm* "jackals" (Is. xiii, 12), is improbable in a description of Edom as desolate, even though some apes, *e.g.*, baboons, occur in Arabian lands[1]. Symm.'s λαμία, "fabulous monster said to steal and destroy newly born infants"[2], is the same word as the Vulg.'s *lamia*[3], which Jerome describes as an "avenging fury"[4] and which he uses also for *tannîn*, "whale" (Lam. iv, 3); but either rendering is out of the question in a passage in which all the other creatures mentioned are real (wolves, eagle-owls, marmots, jackals, sand-partridges, black kites) or may be such (he-goats). All the creatures must be *eiusdem generis* according to every rule of construction.

The same objection may be brought against the modern suggestion of the Sum. *LIL.LÁ* "storm-wind", from which the Acc. *lilû*, *lilîtu* "storm-demon, storm-demoness" is derived[5], although this may be recognized in the Phoen.-Aram. (masc. plur.) *llyn* in a magical text of the 6th century B.C. from Arslan Tash[6] and in the Aram. *lîlî*(*tâ*) found in incantations of a late period from the Babylonian town of Nippur[7]; but there is no reason to expect such a loan-word in any passage of the Old Testament where no ancient Vs. attests it.

Accordingly, owls of various kinds have been proposed[8], for example the tawny owl[9] or the night-owl[10]; but neither of these are desert birds.

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[1] Margoliouth in *Expositor* VIII, x, 155–162 on II Sam. iii, 8 (Symmachus).

[2] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* XX, xli, 3–6.

[3] Hence Milton's "night-hag", which has no independent authority.

[4] Migne *Patrol. Lat.* XXIV, 372 [445].

[5] Hommel *Sem. Völker u. Sprachen* [1883], 367–8; cp. Leander *ap.* Landersdorfer *Sum. Sprachgut im A.T.* [1903], 48.

[6] Mesnil du Buisson in *Mélanges Syriens* I. 431–2.

[7] Myhrman in *Monde Oriental* II [1907–8], 216; see Montgomery *P.B.S.* III, 75–8.

[8] So already *strix* (De Rossi, *Var. Lect.* III, 34).

[9] Tristram, *Fauna and Flora of Palestine* [1882], 92; cp. Aharoni in *Osiris* V. 469–70.

[10] Vaccari in *Stud. Anselm.* XXVII–XXVIII [1951], 259–63.

There are also several names for the various owls[1], and yet another is hardy wanted.

A new suggestion may then be hazarded, that the goat-sucker or night-jar[2] is meant; for it suits both the name and the situation.

The legend that the night-jar sucks the milk of goats[3] is ancient and wide-spread, though untrue, and may well have been known to the ancient Hebrews. There are some seventy species of this bird in the world, of which several are found in the desolate parts of Egypt and the desert fringe of Palestine. One kind (*caprimulgus ægyptius*), found in Egypt, is described as " a bird of the desert and the sand, on which it almost exclusively lives . . . ; it skulks in the day, coming out in search of its food in twilight ", on being alarmed it flies off and takes refuge on tamarisk-bushes, and it haunts acacia-groves and halfa-grass, *i.e.*, typical desert shrubs[4]; another (*caprimulgus tamaricis*) is a " persistent resident in this most desolate region ", *i.e.*, the northern and southern ends of the Dead Sea[5]. Such a bird, haunting desert regions, admirably suits the prophet's description of Edom lying in ruins, desolate and deserted.

The bird's name is obviously derived from the √*LWY*, *LYY*, *LWLY*, *LYLY*, which denotes every kind of twisting motion or twisted object; derived verbs are the Acc. *lawû* " to surround, escort ", the Aram. *lawwê* " accompanied ", the Arab. *lawā* " twisted ", *lawiya* " coiled up, made convolutions ", and *lawlā* " turned back ", the Eth. *lōlawa* " flicked and twisted " and *lēlaya* " turned oneself away "; the Heb. *layil*, *layláh* (<**lailay*), " night " (which is a term common to all the Semitic languages) as wrapping itself round or enfolding the earth and the Arab. *lailā* " wriggly " (only used as a girl's name), as well as other common nouns, are derived from this root. Hence *lîlît* " night-jar " may be so called as nocturnal in its habits (cp. Eth. *līlō* " night-owl "); the first *i*, which Aq.'s λιλιθ confirms, is easily explained as due to assimilation to the second *i* (cp. Acc. *lilātu* and Syr. *līlyâ* beside *lēlyâ*, *lelyâ*, " night "). Alternatively it may have derived its name from this root as descriptive of its rapidly twisting and turning flight. Either explanation of the name will suit its habits; for goat-suckers or night-jars are described as " becoming very active towards dusk, when they hawk about at great speed and with intricate turnings after their food "[6]. Both the time of its activity and its weaving flight may have contributed something to the bird's name.

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[1] Driver in *P.E.Q.*, LXXXVI [1955], 12–15.

[2] Latham, *General Synopsis of Birds* II [1783], 593.

[3] Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix, 618b and Aelian *Nat. Anim.* iii, 39.

[5] Seebohm, *History of British Birds* II, 315–7.

[6] Tristram, *op. cit.*, 85; see *Natural History of the Bible*, 2nd edn. [1868], 191.

[7] Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds of Egypt* I, 321.

The noun is in the feminine form as the names of several other birds are, *e.g.*, קָאָת "scops-owl"; for the names of birds and beasts are often feminine, even when they do not take the termination indicating that gender[1].

This explantion of *lîlît* as night-jar or goat-sucker is supported by its juxtaposition to *śā'îr* "he-goat" (although of course it was a she-goat's milk which this bird was supposed to suck; but this link does not necessarily require she-goats here); for the "satyr" (A.V.) is as out of place as the "night-demon" in a list of real birds and beasts. Further, the satyr is nowhere cited as a symbol of devastation; in Greek mythology it was a semi-divine being which was addicted to wine and sensual pleasures and whose mischievous pranks made it an object of dread to country-folk. Contrariwise, the traveller in Palestine finds that "on reaching the southern wilderness, where many dwarf shrubs vary the herbage, goats are to be seen in large flocks"; in fact, not only do they flourish in such bleak spots, where they browse on the tender twigs and foliage of thyme and dwarf shrubs, but further "this constant browsing of goats is one of the causes which has prevented the restoration of the forests, even in the most deserted parts of the Holy Land"[2]. Further, goats have always been abundant beside the Dead Sea, as the name of *Engedi*, "the spring of the kid", shows[3]; and wild goats are reported to be common "at the south end of the Dead Sea"[4], where the goat-sucker is endemic.

Thus, if *śā'îr* here denotes a real goat, the statement that על־רצהו יִקְרָא "(it) shall cry to its fellow" (R.V.) is strange and ought surely to be corrected to על־רעהו יִקְרָא "(it) shall encounter its fellow" (Procksch after Marti; *cp.* Exod. v, 3; *cp.* iii, 16)[5]. The picture will then be of Edom as a desolate place where bucks, like *duo arietes inter se concurrentes*[6], do battle for their mates.

If then this explanation of *lîlît* and *śā'îr* is accepted, the passage cites four beasts (wolves, marmots, jackals, goats) and four birds (eagle-owls, night-jars or goat-suckers, sand-partridges, black kites) as symbols of the desolation of Edom, wasted and inhabited only by beasts and birds haunting the bleak uplands and desert regions lying to the east of Palestine.

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[1] Brockelmann *G.V.G.S.S.* I, 422; cp. Albrecht *ap.* Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages* [1927], 3 (s. 32–3).

[2] Tristram *Natural History of the Bible*² [1868], 89.

[3] Bochart & Rosenmüller *Hierozoicon* I, 720–1.

[4] Tristram, *op. cit.*, 96–7; cp. Thomson, *Land and Book*, II [1859], 4210–1.

[5] Normal usage is קרא אל "called to" (*passim*) but קרא על "called against, concerning" (Deut. xv, 9; xxiv, 15; I Kings iii, 4, 32; Jer. xlix, 29; Lam. i, 15); but אל and על are often confused.

[6] Vitruvius *Archit.* x, ii, 15.

CORRECTIONS

Vol. LXXVII (1945), p. 9, par. 1, ll. 28-29: the explanation of שומרון here put forward must in all probability be given up.

Vol. XC (1958), p. 57, par. 2, ll. 6-7: since the editor of the story of the quails seems to be thinking of the spring (Num. x, 11; see Gray, *Numbers*, 117-8), and quails at that season are flying northwards from their African to their South European haunts, the statement that they were " carried by a wind from the west " must be corrected to " carried by a wind from the south." Alternatively, if the season intended were the autumn, a wind from the north would of course be meant.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Mambre. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im heiligen Bezirk Râmet el-Khalîl in Südpalästina, 1926–1928. By Evaristus Mader. Erich Wewel Verlag, Freiburg im Breisgau. 1957. 11 in. × 7 in. Vol. I (Text), 356 pp. Vol. II, 183 phototypes on 103 plates, 105 drawings, 5 ground-plans. DM 165.00.

Thirty years ago Professor Albright wrote of " an exceedingly important expedition " which " has been under way for some time at Râmet el-Khalîl, north of Hebron, which is unquestionably the true site of Mamre " (*B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 32, 1928, p. 12). This was the archaeological expedition led from 1926 to 1928 by Dr. Evaristus Mader, Director of the Oriental Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft in Jerusalem, who had already made an important contribution to Palestinian archaeology in 1918 with his *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa*. We have waited long for the definitive report of the work on Râmet el-Khalîl. Dr. Mader had to relinquish his directorship of the Oriental Institute in 1932, and his remaining years were years of increasing ill-health, culminating in his death in 1949. His work of preparing his material for publication was further retarded by conditions under the Third Reich, and especially during World War II and its aftermath. After his death this unfinished task was taken up first by Dr. Friedrich Stummer, and then by Dr. Vinzenz Hamp, who has carried it to a successful conclusion. The completed work now lies before us in two handsome volumes, beautifully printed and illustrated, a credit alike to author, editors, and publisher.[1]

The complex of ancient buildings at Râmet el-Khalîl lies some 3,250 ft. above sea-level, two miles north of Hebron, east of the main road from Hebron to Jerusalem. Above it on the south rises the peak of Jebel el-Baṭrak (" Patriarch's Mount "), 3,361 feet high, the highest peak of southern Palestine. (Hebron itself, it will be recalled, is the highest town in Palestine, 3,040 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.) The remains of the building complex—known locally as Beit el-Khalîl, " the house of the

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[1] This work has been designated by the *Börsenverein* of the German book trade as one of the fifty " Most Beautiful Books of the Year 1957 ". Most of the works which qualify for inclusion in this annual list are naturally books of art; it is all the more gratifying when a scientific publication like *Mambre* wins such recognition.

Friend " (i.e., Abraham, " the Friend of God ")[1]—have for long provided the local inhabitants with material for legend, and visitors with material for speculation. W. M. Thomson, in *The Land and the Book*, described the " two courses of great stones, some of them fifteen feet in length, and more than three thick ", and goes on: " The builder, whoever he was, appears to have projected a strong castle or palace, two hundred feet long and a hundred and sixty feet broad; but, like many who begin, he was not able to finish, and has left these courses of hewn stones out on this lone mountain to puzzle the brains of antiquarians and tourists to the end of time " (1888 edn., p. 600). Not " to the end of time ", thanks to Dr. Mader's work, but certainly for a very long time. Some thought the stones might be the remains of Abraham's cattle-fold; others associated them with the building activity of David or Solomon. R. A. S. Macalister thought they were the walls of an Arab caravanserai, built with the materials of Constantine's basilica. The church historians, Eusebius, Socrates and Sozomen tell how Constantine erected a basilica 15 stadia north of Hebron, in the vicinity of an oak—or rather a terebinth—which was still pointed out in the 4th century A.D. as the tree of Mamre under whose shade Abraham entertained his divine visitors (Gen. xviii, 1 ff.). Sozomen, perhaps because he was a Palestinian himself, gives more details about the place than other ancient writers do, and makes it clear that the spot where Constantine built his basilica was a holy place before that time: an annual fair was held there, where pagans, Jews and Christians came and worshipped their respective deities. Beneath the ancient tree was a well, which the pilgrims treated as a " wishing well ", throwing coins and other objects of value into it. Constantine abolished the pagan installations before founding his basilica on the site.

Edward Robinson identified the walls as those of Constantine's basilica; V. Guérin pointed out, however, that the walls had never exceeded their present height, and suggested that they were the walls of a pre-Constantinian *temenos* of Idumaeans and Jews. As it turned out, this suggestion came nearer the truth than most. But the excavations on the site have confirmed that this was indeed the place where Constantine built his basilica, the place traditionally identified in his time with Abraham's abode at Mamre. It was made clear in the course of the work that Constantine's basilica occupied the eastern half of the great enclosure, the western half of the enclosure forming a forecourt to the basilica. In this forecourt, in front of the entrance to the basilica, stood an altar which was believed to occupy the very site where Abraham had built his altar, according to the record of Gen. xiii, 18. In the south-western corner of the forecourt was a well, and immediately to the north-east of this the site of the terebinth of Mamre could be identified with a high measure of confidence.

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[1] Also called Ḫaram Râmet el-Khalîl (" the sacred enclosure of the high place of the Friend "), not to be confused with the great Ḫaram at Hebron itself, the traditional site of the patriarchs' tombs.

The enclosure itself, however, was older than Constantine's time; the evidence of the masonry indicated clearly enough that it was originally of Herodian construction, as was also the great Ḫaram at Hebron. Herod, who was an Idumaean and a Jew at once, would naturally be interested in these two neighbouring localities which had for long been sacred to both peoples, and he would inevitably regard them as appropriate sites for his building enterprise. It is remarkable, however, that no literary reference to his building in the Hebron district has survived. Josephus indeed makes mention of both sites, but does not ascribe the building to Herod. " The local people ", he says (*B.J.* iv, 530–533), " claim that Hebron is not only the most ancient of the cities in this country, but that it is more ancient even than Memphis[1] in Egypt. In fact, it is computed to be 2,300 years old. According to their story, it was the habitation of Abraham, the ancestor of the Jews, after his departure from Mesopotamia, and they add that it was from here that his children went down into Egypt. Their tombs, constructed of the finest marble and in a magnificent style, are shown in this town to the present day. There is also shown at a distance of six[2] stadia from the city a huge terebinth, and they say that the tree has remained there to the present day, ever since the foundation "[3].

Herod's enclosure, however, did not remain standing in its original form until Constantine; it appears to have been demolished and rebuilt at a later date—but with the original hewn stones. It is a reasonable supposition that it was destroyed in the course of the war of A.D. 66–73; and the rebuilder may well have been Hadrian, after the suppression of the Bar-kokhba revolt. " Hadrian ", says Dr. Mader, " could offer the Jews no greater insult than to profane in this way the most celebrated dwelling-place and sanctuary of their forefather Abraham and turn the court of the terebinth into a Gentile market, where they themselves were exposed for auction as slaves " (pp. 84 f.). He makes the further suggestion that this emperor, who elsewhere rededicated Jewish holy places to pagan divinities, may have dedicated this place to Hermes-Mercurius, the god of commerce. At any rate, historical and archaeological considerations combine to make it probable that it was from Hadrian's time that the site was devoted to those pagan usages which Sozomen describes as persisting until Constantine abolished them.

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[1] Possibly a distorted reminiscence of Num. xiii, 22, where Hebron is said to have been built seven years before *Tanis* in Egypt—a reference perhaps to the Era of Tanis which apparently began with the founding of the Hyksos city of Avaris (*c.* 1720 B.C.) on the site later known as Tanis.

[2] Our other authorities, rightly, locate the terebinth fifteen stadia from Hebron. But Josephus's account is second-hand and inaccurate in other respects: e.g., the tombs of the patriarchs were built of limestone, not of marble.

[3] Gk. ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως, surely " since the foundation (of the city) " rather than " since the creation (of the world) ". But Josephus's source may have used the term in the one sense while he understood it in the other.

Some building took place on the site later on, during the Arab period. There was also ample evidence of building on the site at an earlier period, long before the time of Herod. There was apparently a shrine there during the Judaean monarchy; already at that time a paved sacred way led to it from the main Jerusalem-Hebron road. But the history of the site goes back to remote antiquity—before the days when Hebron was David's capital, before the days when it was occupied by the Anakim, even before the days when Abraham pitched his tent here. For pottery on the site indicates that it was frequented in the Early Bronze Age, in the third millennium B.C., and Dr. Mader envisages " the possibility, if not indeed the high probability, that the Jewish and Israelite veneration of Mamre was preceded in the Canaanite and earliest Semitic period by a water and tree cult " (p. 49).

To the account of the excavation of this ancient sanctuary and to the reconstruction of its history, then, these two fine volumes are devoted. No pains have been spared to make them as worthy of their theme as possible. Volume I falls into three parts which deal respectively with the buildings on the site; individual finds (pieces of sculpture and architectural decoration, inscriptions and graffiti, pottery and glass-ware, 1,331 coins from the Ptolemaic to the Arab period); and the topography and history of Mamre and Hebron. Every surviving ancient reference to Mamre is examined, including some very interesting passages in the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. The evidence of the Madaba map and of the Bordeaux pilgrim is considered, together with other pilgrim itineraries down to the Crusades.

The whole story is a fascinating one, and it is well told. There are good indexes, and helpful cross-references between the text volume and the volume of plates.

One or two slips have been noted: e.g., we sometimes find " A. Albright " instead of " W. F. Albright " (see Index of Persons and Places); *appelatur* (p. 185, l. 15) should be *appellatur;* " Temenoi " (p. 211, l. 31) is a very odd plural (it can hardly be right in German, and it is certainly wrong in Greek); and on p. 24 E. T. Rogers is said to have delivered a lecture " at a meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London " fifteen years before the Fund was founded!

F. F. B.

Samaria-Sebaste. Reports of the work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935. No. 3. *The Objects from Samaria,* by J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon. With contributions by S. A. Birnbaum, J. H. Iliffe, J. S. Kirkham, Silva Lake, E. L. Sukenik. Palestine Exploration Fund. London, 1957. Pp. 478. 27 plates, 119 text figures. 8 gns.

The long-awaited third and last report on the excavations at Samaria is an important contribution to the archaeology of Palestine. Not only does it show great care in the presentation of the material by excavators and authors alike, but it is also a worthy tribute to one of the three most concerned in the publication of the book, the late Mrs. Grace Mary Crowfoot, whose friends and admirers have contributed among other generous well-wishers to the mounting costs of publication.

Inscriptions, Coins, Sculpture, Figurines, Scarabs, Seals and Seal Impressions are discussed by experts on these subjects, while the greater part of the book is concerned with pottery from the site. Apart from certain Early Bronze Age deposits on the summit of the hill, sealed in by the earliest Israelite floors, there is nothing which need be dated earlier than the 9th century B.C., and it is this lack of intervening occupation which provides an important synchronism between an archaeological phase, and an event in Biblical history, the founding of Samaria by Omri about 880 B.C. (I Kings xvi, 23, 24).

All additions of epigraphic material, however incomplete, are valuable in the study of the Palaeo-Hebrew script, and Dr. Birnbaum has certainly made the most of the ten sherds incised with these letters, which he dates to the third quarter of the 8th century, while the Harvard ostraca, found in 1910, were ascribed by the same authority to the second quarter of the 8th century (*P.E.Q.*, 1942, p. 108).

Sometimes incised before kiln-firing, the inscriptions mostly occurred on the exterior surfaces of bowls or jugs, which were still whole when the texts were written, facts which place them in a different category from the Harvard ostraca, written in ink on bowls, jars and jugs, which were already broken when they were used. The inscriptions discussed in Chapter II stand early in the list of extant texts written in the North Semitic alphabetic script, preceding the famous Siloam tunnel inscription by at least 30 years, and best matched by the letters of the " Royal Bat " jar from Lachish (*P.E.Q.*, 1941, pp. 106–109; *Lachish* III, Pl. 49, p. 356 f.). All are signs of increasing public literacy during the 8th century B.C. in Israel, and perhaps to a lesser extent in Judah.

Turning to Mr. Kirkman's report on the more precise evidence provided by the coins, as he writes in Chapter III: " the reveal faithfully . . . the political history of Palestine ". The transfer from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule early in the 2nd century B.C., and each subsequent shift in municipal and colonial status is reflected in the relative proportions of coins found on the site. He finds that the dates of the Hellenistic Fort and of the outer city walls, which on archaeological evidence cannot be much before the middle of the 2nd century " tie in reasonably well " with the abundance of coins of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), 176–164 B.C. However, a problem is set by the number of coins with types of Alexander Jannaeus in a city " which was destroyed before he came to power, and which was not rebuilt until after his death ".

In explanation, Mr. Kirkman suggests that the Anchor-wheel type coins were struck after the death of that king, and should be attributed to the time of the restoration of the city from 57/55 to 40 B.C.

Chapters IV and V are concerned with Sculptural Work and with Figurines respectively. Outstanding for the sweep of the draperies, a headless statue may have been copied from a Greek original, and it compares favourably with rather poor treatment on a statue of the Kore, both dating from the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. (Pl. VIII, 1–3). Naïve, crude and incomplete, the small pottery heads of Hellenistic times, and those of the 8th century B.C. cannot rank as works of art, but have some value as records of local hair-styles and head-dress, while figures of animals, presumably also votive in intention, may indicate trends in husbandry. Camels and sheep occupy a poor position at this date in relation to horses and cattle, and it is interesting to note that humped oxen so common at Tell Jemmeh in the low-lying Wadi Ghuzzeh (*Gerar*, Pl. XXXVII) seem to be altogether missing at Samaria.

The chief interest of Chapter VI which deals with Scarabs, Seals and Seal Impressions is the large number of the latter, which had been attached to papyrus rolls. There are nine impressions of a seal bearing a scarab beetle with double wings, and the excavators conclude that it belonged to an official in charge of the archives of the kingdom. Could it not be, however, that these seal impressions came from documents received from the southern kingdom, during a time of alliance, for the emblem of a scarab beetle with double wings certainly had a royal significance in Judah at least in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.? (See *P.E.Q.*, 1941, 91–101, and *Lachish III*, 342 ff.)

Chapters VII–X deal in detail with the pottery, beginning with that of the Early Bronze Age and Israelite periods. Chapter VIII is devoted to those few imported wares which found their way to Samaria, while Chapters IX–X give a detailed appreciation of the Hellenistic, Roman and later Wares. These two chapters provide perhaps the most detailed and authoritative commentary yet published on pottery of late times as found in Palestine. The remaining chapters describe Lamps, Potters' Stamps, Faience Amulets and Beads, Glass, Roman Tombs and Miscellaneous Objects, so many different tastes are catered for. Samaria is no exception to the rule that outstanding pieces are seldom recovered from a town site, but it is surprising to find that the excavations have not added any inscribed weights to those two which are known in private collections (Diringer, *Iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi*, 1934, pp. 269, 10; 281, 21).

An account of the stratified groups of Israelite pottery is given by Miss Kenyon on pp. 94–134; 198–199. She divides it into eight periods, beginning about 880 B.C. with the building of Omri's new capital. Period I forms have analogies with those on Early Iron Age sites, and there is no apparent distinction in ware between I and II, and not enough types attributed to the second period to show any development. It was suggested in

S.S., I (p. 8) that the rebuilding of III should be attributed to the time of Jehu (841–813 B.C.); the pottery is distinct, and there is an increasing transition from hand to wheel burnish, the latter technique being completely achieved by Period IV, but as Mrs. Crowfoot very shrewdly points out the new process was " rather a cheapening than an improvement of the more primitive methods " (Appendix II).

Period IV, which marks " a very complete break " in pottery technique with III, though the older building traditions continue, may possibly represent a phase of rebuilding made necessary by the Aramaean invasion of 798 B.C.; alternatively it could fall in the reign of Jeroboam II (*c.* 781–742 B.C.).[1] Period V contains eight incomplete forms; they are all that remains of the material associated with the construction period of the last Israelite building on the summit, which was covered by the layer of burning attributed to the destruction by Sargon in 722 B.C.

It was not possible to obtain a stratigraphic connection between these late Israelite rooms and the Israelite wall 573 on the middle terrace, so the pottery from the filling of the wall was kept separate as Period VI, to allow for the possibility that it was later than the house (*S.S.*, I, pp. 107–109). Many of the pottery forms of Period IV with the addition of new types mostly in thin hard ware came from this fill, or raising of level, which was only examined in a trench two metres wide (*S.S.* 3, pp. 119–125).

Miss Kenyon bases far-reaching conclusions on the pottery of Period VI. Besides the deposit (1) connected with wall 573, two other groups were attributed to the same phase.

(2) " The other deposit . . . came from a small pit . . . in the Period V house . . . It may have been either a rubbish pit or a latrine . . . This pit was not sealed in by any floor ". She goes on to say that the Period VII debris which overlay the rest of the house (of Period V) did not actually overlie the pit.

(3) " A deposit which from the contents is undoubtedly contemporary with Period VI is E.207. Its material . . . is much greater in quantity than that from the stratified deposits, and therefore supplements the repertory of forms ". This exposed area on the bare hillside is thought to be the site of an Israelite Shrine (*S.S.*, I, p. 23, *S.S.*, 3, pp. 137 ff.).

The debris of Period VII included much burnt material and the ashes in most places looked disturbed, while joining pieces of ivory came from widely separated spots. If this debris had sealed in the pit of deposit 2, which, as Miss Kenyon says, may contain material ranging at least from Period IV, we could have felt more confident about its stratigraphic value, and more certain that nothing of later date had fallen in. Periods VII and

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[1] The dates are those quoted by Miss Kenyon. [The various reconstructions of the Hebrew chronology of this period diverge by several years; *e.g.*, E. R. Thiele brings Jeroboam II's reign to an end in 753 B.C.]

VIII which cannot be separated stratigraphically therefore contain wares which may date from the last two decades of the 8th century or from any later time, developing steadily into the forms of the Hellenistic period. The Assyrian connections of the pottery of Period VII discussed on p. 97f. are especially interesting in view of the deportation of the inhabitants by Sargon II, and the resettlement by colonists from other conquered cities (II Kings xvii, 3 ff.). Besides the striking parallels to Petrie's "Assyrian dinner service" ware, the thickened rim bowls, and more especially those with a projecting rim are as common at Assyrian sites such as Assur and Nimrud, as they are in 8th–7th century contexts in south Palestine.

Sargon's colonists do not seem to have brought Samaria any great prosperity; much of the summit was covered with a layer of "chocolate" soil, which may have been brought there for agricultural purposes, and there is little material of interest during the 5th to early 3rd century B.C.

During the Hellenistic period the existing Israelite defensive walls were strengthened by massive towers, and in the 2nd century a Hellenistic Fort was built, erected perhaps as a defence against the Maccabees, and destroyed by John Hyrcanus in 107 B.C. Little remained of the domestic quarters within the enclosure walls of these periods, though unlike the majority of Palestinian sites, Samaria was not then destined to remain "a heap". Greatly increased in area since Omri's day by successive terracing and the spread of many phases of destruction, Herod I widened the summit still more, and founded a great temple in honour of Augustus, astride the lower courses of the Israelite Casemate Wall and of the Hellenistic Fort, between 30 and 20 B.C. From this time onwards, Samaria-Sebaste enjoyed great prosperity, and was especially flourishing during the 4th century A.D., when there were luxurious villas equipped with stepped baths, though there is some evidence that the temple itself had fallen into decay when Christianity became the official religion of the Empire.

No later buildings were constructed on the summit, which left the statues, inscriptions and architectural details, which must surely have embellished the Augusteum, and of which so few traces remain, ready fuel for the lime-kilns, which are witness to their probable fate. It is therefore again to the pottery that we must turn in order to appreciate the degree of culture, prosperity and trade achieved during the Hellenistic period, and under the Pax Romana.

Both Mrs. Crowfoot and Miss Kenyon have contributed substantially to the history of the development of Megarian bowls in the 2nd–1st centuries, and of Terra Sigillata, a creation of the latter part of the Hellenistic Age. For this great wealth of information, conveniently catalogued, and accompanied by clear Text Figures our best thanks are due. Under these especial circumstances, the provision of an index to Vol. 3 was not perhaps essential, but if funds had sufficed for the preparation and printing of an index to cover the Harvard publication, as well as the three volumes of the expeditions which took place in 1931–33 and in 1935, the result would have been ideal. Special gratitude should be expressed for the continuing leadership of Dr. J. W. Crowfoot, who has seen the enterprise through many unavoidable setbacks and delays, and brought it to a successful conclusion. He would be the first to acknowledge, as he has done in his Preface, the constant and devoted help of his daughter Elisabeth, during these last years.

Olga Tufnell.

The James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor. *Hazor I. The First Season*, 1955. By Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, J. Perrot. Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1958. Pp. 160. 184 plates. 8 gns.

The first factual report of the James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor is remarkable for the speed with which the Hebrew and English editions—both printed in Jerusalem—have appeared, for it is less than three years since excavations began under the leadership of Dr. Yigael Yadin.

The initial season of only three months is described under five main headings, corresponding to the areas where excavations took place; the buildings are described and the objects from them are listed, and this necessary data is supplemented by excellent views, and other photographs of the finds, as well as by detailed plans. Field reports on this scale, written in two languages, would be too costly for most expeditions, but in this case the financial burden was relieved by several generous contributors. While striving to recapture the Petrie ideal of swift presentation of the facts, *Hazor I* is also in the vanguard of modern archaeological publication which will require ever increasing detail as the broad lines of history emerge, if a complete synchronization between different phases at excavated sites of the eastern Mediterranean is to be reached. It is no longer enough to compare individual artifacts one with another, for the whole process of technical developments in the arts and crafts must fit into a coherent picture. It would have been helpful, for instance, to have had notes on the method of burnishing employed on the pottery, for the transition from a hand to a wheel technique has proved a useful guide to developments during the 9th century at Samaria and Lachish. Otherwise, nothing seems to be omitted which can hinder a close check of the conclusions reached by a distinguished team.

Tell el-Qedaḥ or Tell Waqqâṣ lies north of the Sea of Galilee and south-west of Lake Huleh, but there is a curious discrepancy of over 10 kilometres between its exact position as given on p. 1, and in the Hazor Exhibition Catalogue; it is the latter which seems the more accurate. In 1875, J. L. Porter proposed that the site was that of Hazor, and the same conclusion was reached independently by Professor Garstang, who made soundings there in 1928. The height of the Tell and the extent of the rectangular enclosure to the north leave no doubt as to the importance of Hazor in antiquity, an impression which is strikingly confirmed by the reference in Joshua that " Hazor was beforetime the head of all these kingdoms " (p. 4, the reference should read xi, 13, not the reverse). Hazor was ten times larger than Gezer, which covers more ground than almost any other city in southern Palestine. With the smaller mound of Megiddo, Gezer and Hazor were the key points rebuilt on Solomon's orders during his reign (1 Kings ix, 15). It is this crucial Bible reference which strengthens the obvious equation on architectural grounds between the fine Casemate Wall around the citadel linked to a city gate exposed in 1957, which proved to be nearly identical in plan and measurements with the city gate of Stratum IVB at Megiddo[1].

Not only are these facts eloquent confirmation of the Biblical account, but they provide valuable clues in the synchronization of this difficult period, when the Iron Age strongholds of Israel and Judah were being built on sites which had often been deserted since the end of the Bronze Age three centuries earlier.

Altogether, Dr. Yadin's team uncovered parts of seven superimposed strata (X–IV) belonging to the Iron Age, during the first season's work in the centre of the citadel or acropolis (Area A); on the west side (Area B) the soundings presented a similar picture, extended more fully than in Area A beyond the wholesale destruction of the site, which is attributed to the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III (II Kings xv, 29), and is marked on the site by a thick layer of burnt débris in Stratum V. Between Solomon's rebuilding and this destruction, it seems possible to attribute the destruction of Stratum IX to the campaign waged by Ben-Hadad, King of Aram (Syria) against Baasha, king of Israel about 885 B.C., while the excavators consider that the destruction of the Pillared Building (Strata VIII—VII) may coincide with a further invasion by Hazael towards the end of Jehu's reign about 815 B.C.

The administrative Pillared Building, used perhaps as a store, was replaced by a private residential quarter in Stratum VI, separated by a layer of débris from Stratum V, which the excavators suggest was caused by the earthquake recorded in the reign of Jeroboam II (Amos i, 1; Zech. xiv, 5). Though the houses were rebuilt to a similar plan, they cannot have been in use for more than a few decades before they were completely destroyed in 732 B.C.

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[1] Dr. Yadin has not ignored the possibility that, in the light of the new evidence, traces of the Solomonic City Wall and Gate could perhaps be detected at Gezer, where Macalister dug for the Palestine Exploration Fund in the first decade of this century. Indeed, Yadin makes a convincing case in a recent article for the identification of the " Maccabean Castle " with the Solomonic fortifications at Gezer (*I.E.J.*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1958, pp. 80–86).

Within a span of little more than two centuries, the excavations on the Tell at Hazor (Areas A and B) have provided six well-defined divisions of stratified Iron Age deposits, and Near Eastern archaeologists should be grateful for this basic information, which supplements and extends that which was published in the same year for Samaria. The 7th and subsequent centuries are less clear at both these sites, and excavations in Judah for the period 700–586 B.C., naturally offer more material.

A large building of Stratum III (Area B) was undoubtedly an administrative centre built after the Assyrian campaign, but the excavators are uncertain whether it should be attributed to the period of that domination, or to the time of resettlement under Persian rule from the end of the 5th to the end of the 4th century B.C. It seems unlikely that there was any considerable occupation by Assyrian troops or settlers in the period (Stratum IV) which followed the destruction, or that Stratum III dates to the end of the 8th century in view of the apparent absence of " Assyrian dinner service ware ", recognised by Petrie at Gerar and found in Period VII at Samaria (*S.S.*, 3, pp. 97–98, 128). The pottery forms which we have learnt to associate with the 7th century further south were also missing. Indeed, the prevalence of certain early features among the sherds ascribed to Stratum III, seems to imply that the deposits belonging to, and following on from, the destruction of Stratum V were still partially exposed or accessible to the builders of Stratum III. The authors' second hypothesis therefore seems preferable, particularly in view of the situation at Lachish, where the same gap in pottery types occurs between the floors of the burnt Palace C and the construction of the Post-Exilic Residency which bears a strong resemblance in plan and method of construction to the main building of Strata III–II at Hazor, though the central court measures 13 m. square, as against 18 m. square at Lachish (*Lachish* III, Pl. 119, pp. 133–134).[1] Stratum II at Hazor is merely a second phase of Citadel III, during which time the building was divided, some entrances were blocked, and the large halls were converted into rooms by partitions and the addition of small chambers, all indications which are matched at Lachish, and which suggest that administration had broken down, and that ordinary folk moved into the fine buildings intended for the government. The walls of the topmost building on the Tell were visible before excavations began, and the material from the poorly-preserved rooms indicates some occupation in the Hellenistic period.

Though excavation on the Tell only penetrated to Stratum X, and though many citadels of the Bronze Age no doubt lie below, the Hazor expedition presents most valuable conclusions reached through soundings in the rectangular enclosure north of the Tell (Areas C, D and E). They have wisely decided to defer the equation of the Bronze Age strata exposed within the Enclosure in relation to the scheme of general strata adopted for the Tell, until the Bronze Age levels are reached on the mound. Meanwhile they adopt a temporary set of numbers marked by an asterisk, from Stratum I* (L.B. II) to Stratum VII* (M.B. II).

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[1] For a discussion on " The Assyrian Open-court Building, and its Palestinian derivatives ", see R. B. K. Amiran and I. Dunayevsky in *B.A.S.O.R.* 149, Feb. 1958, pp. 25–32.

Contrary to expectation, buildings were found in all the excavated areas, so that the terms " enclosure " and " camp " can be appropriately replaced by the " Lower Canaanite City ". The defence consisted of a rampart, largely composed of earth and stones dug from the surrounding ground, which ultimately became a fosse or ditch of inverse proportions to the ramp. The first cut in Area C to ascertain the method of construction resulted in the discovery of walls and floors at an average depth of only one metre from the surface. They proved to be buildings and workshops possibly connected with the shrine which was subsequently exposed to the west, and partially buried by floods which had swept down from the ramparts above. Like the Lower City, the shrine had two main phases of use in L.B. II, and like the domestic quarters, the uppermost layer was destroyed by fire.

Those of us who were able to see the exhibition at the British Museum in 1958 will have no doubt of the importance of the objects from the shrine. While there were some striking parallels with other sanctuaries, and in particular with the contemporary Fosse Temple at Lachish, perhaps even more interesting were the points of difference. At Hazor, the cult and temple objects within the niche were carved from basalt, which was the most common material for sculptures and reliefs at northern sites. There was apparently no prohibition against the use of statues, or of dressed stone, for the temple furniture and the offertory tables were made of ashlar blocks (Exodus xx, 24f.). It might have been significant that the niche itself with its earthen floors was built of unhewn stone, had it not been shown with the discovery of the Orthostat Temple in 1957 that the porch and " Holy of Holies " of that contemporary building, following in the traditional construction of Hittite Anatolia and northern Syria, was lined with beautifully dressed slabs. Indeed, the Anatolian connections of both shrines and temple naturally appear stronger for geographical and historical reasons than those with Egypt.

It would seem also that the cult figures and furniture may be earlier in origin—or copies of earlier models—than the L.B. II strata with which they were associated. For instance, the ritual bowl is reminiscent in form of the M.B. I–II bowls, while the design of the running spiral around the carination is one which reached its climax in popularity in Middle Kingdom Egypt (*Hazor Catalogue*, Fig. 23). The basalt statue of a deity seated on a chair (*ibid.*, Figs. 24–25) compares strikingly with the chair and the dress of the personnage represented on scarabs belonging to the transitional period from M.B. II to L.B. I (*Anatolian Studies* VI, 1956, pp. 67–73). Certain pottery forms have analogies in Anatolia, and the carinated bowls with quatrefoil mouth are new to the Palestinian repertory (Pl. CXXXVI, 12–16, not Pl. CXXXV, as given in the text on p. 149). As the authors have observed, they are clearly allied to the flared carinated bowls, which in their earliest phases represent some of the highest achievements of the potter's art. Small and coarsely made varieties of the flared carinate bowl continue to be the dominant form at Hazor until the end of the Bronze Age, while further south they were by then largely superseded. The locally-made store jars also appear to retain more archaic forms than those which were current further south, and if it were not for the imported wares among which Mykenaean sherds and White Slip milk bowls are conspicuous one would be included to favour an earlier date than 1200 B.C. for the destruction of the Bronze Age Lower City.

However, it is still too early in the excavation programme at Hazor for the authors to offer a complete chronological sequence of their site. So far, they have seen evidence of occupation which goes back to the beginning of M.B. II (*c.* 1900 B.C.) if not before in Area D, but at some points the rock was so near the surface that deposits had been much disturbed. More informative are the stratified layers in deep bottle-shaped cisterns, of which Cistern 9024 provides five separate phases within the Middle to Late Bronze Age period.

The last phases of the Bronze Age city are best represented in the living quarters, workshops and shrines exposed in Area C. Typical pottery of the late 15th-early 14th centuries, such as the Base-ring jugs and juglets painted in white, appear to be missing from these areas, like their imitations in local clay decorated in red. On the other hand, Mykenaean imported wares, and White Slip II milk-bowls are common, and the absence of painted Base-Ring pottery will perhaps prove more useful than its presence in defining the length of time in which these imports were reaching Palestinian sites.

The great enterprise undertaken at Hazor on a magnificant and almost untouched site deserves to continue for many years, but, as the excavators are well aware, human endeavour could not exhaust its treasures and potential fund of knowledge under at least eight centuries.[1]

OLGA TUFNELL.

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[1] Apart from typographical errors, and from incorrect references noted above, the following should be mentioned: p. 11, l.11 for " Pl. XLV " read " Pl. XLVI "; note 6, for " Type 521 ", read " Tomb "; note 7, *Samaria-Sebaste* III, for " Fig. 2 " read " 3 "; note 10, after S.C.E. insert " iv, pt. 2 ". P. 50 last line, for " 54–481 " read " S.4–481 ". P. 51, line 32, " Pl. LXXVII, 15 " should perhaps read " Pl. LXXVI: 12 ". P. 52, l.31, " Pl. LXXIII " should read " LXXVIII ". P. 79, l.17, " Pl. LXXV " read " LXXXV ". P. 85, l.17, it was probably intended to compare Pl. *XC:* 9 with L.II: 310. P. 87, lines 26–29, instead of " Pl. CLXXI " read " Pl. CLXXXI " in each case.

The Sultantepe Tablets. By O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein. The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (Occasional Publications No. 3). Pp. 13, 142 plates. 35*s*.

Harran, east of the Euphrates in S. Turkey, is an ancient site which has long invited exploration for its connections with the Old Babylonian or Patriarchal Age of the Old Testament, for its strategic position as a provincial capital in the late Assyrian Empire and, not least, for its importance in the Middle Ages.[1] It was, therefore, a most welcome move when a joint expedition of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the Turkish authorities under Seton Lloyd and Bay Nuri Gökçe commenced work in the area in 1951. After an initial sounding at nearby Yarimça a survey was made of Sultantepe, *c.* 15 miles N. of Harran itself. The reviewer was present at the time and can testify to the high hopes placed in this large and conspicuous ruin-mound which dominates the plain.[2] In two short seasons' work the finds included 572 clay tablets, all except one of unbaked clay, inscribed in the Assyrian cuneiform script.[3] The majority of the documents were found scattered in a street near a private house beneath a deep and heavy overlay of débris which eventually precluded further digging. It is not possible to be sure of the place of origin of this archive but the evidence of the texts themselves would show that they were products of a temple-school or workshop (*bît mūmmi*) directed by Nabu-aḫa-iddin under the patronage of Qurdi-Nergal, a priest of the god Zamama. It is therefore not surprising to find in this group of tablets several copies, or even versions, of the same text and school exercises whether lists of signs, mathematical tables (of "reciprocals"), extracts of poems and strange writings which must be attributed to a lack of skill in the ancient scribal art. The colophons show that the texts were copied and collected in the century before the fall of Harran in 610 B.C.

This handsome volume is of more than usual importance. Hand copies of 111 texts are clearly presented and these cover the range of literature, mainly classical texts, which were copied by the scribe as part of his education[4] or, as at Nippur, were part of the master's library. Thus epics, legends, prayers, hymns, incantations, historical and medical texts are well represented and, since these often add to our knowledge of these forms of Akkadian literature, it is commendable that they have been published within so little time after their discovery.

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[1] D. S. Rice, "Medieval Harran" in *Anatolian Studies* (hereafter *AS*), II, pp. 36–84. See also *AS* I, pp. 77–111.

[2] The mound is illustrated in L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible*, No. 85, p. 32.

[3] The excavations are described in *AS* III, pp. 27–51; *Illustrated London News*, September 1st, 1951; IV, pp. 101–110. A preliminary report on the tablets was given by O. R. Gurney in *AS* II, pp. 25–35.

[4] C. J. Gadd, *Teachers and Students in the Oldest Schools*, pp. 9f.

The most remarkable text, of which two examples were found (Nos. 38, 39), is the story of " The Poor Man of Nippur ", the first humorous tale yet found in this ancient literature and the earliest example of a common folk-tale, itself the prototype of a story preserved in the Arabian Nights. It is a poem dated in the year 701 B.C. The poor Gimil-Ninurta brings a goat to the Mayor hoping for a feast to be celebrated with it but, being mistaken for a criminal bearing a bribe, he receives a mere bone and is summarily dismissed. He vows a threefold vengeance on the Mayor. This he achieves, first, disguised as the king in a borrowed royal chariot he returns to be given gold and new clothes; then, disguised as a doctor he maltreats the Mayor. Finally, when the Mayor comes out in response to a false call, Gimil-Ninurta springs upon him from his hiding-place and for the third time beats him till he is all bruises. The tale ends with the Mayor crawling back into the city.[1] The ideas and language would indicate that this is a copy of an older story but there is no evidence for the suggestion that the scribe at Sultantepe was copying from a Middle Babylonian text.[2]

Another text of a type hitherto unknown is a fictitious letter purporting to have been written by Gilgamesh (Nos. 40–42). In this he asks another king (the name is lost) to take 600 men whom he has sent and to go to some mountainous country to procure for him animals, precious stones, metals and other commodities in vast quantities and float them downstream to him in Babylon. It has been suggested that with its fantastic figures (the breast-plate for his friend Enkidu weighs 30 pounds) this text is another example of Babylonian humour.[3] There are three versions and it would seem more likely that this is another instance of school-work based on an older tradition. It reflects early political and economic trade relations much as does the Sumerian epic of Enmerkar.[4]

This book also contributes to the knowledge of the traditional and classical, it might almost be called canonical, literature of the Assyrians. It provides additions and variants to five of the seven tablets of Creation (*Enuma eliš*) especially restoring a large gap in tablet VI where the gods swear an oath of loyalty to the victorious god Marduk.[5] One text (No. 12) may be part of the broken fifth tablet of the same series. Fragments (14–15) of the Epic of Gilgamesh help to restore the beginnings of tablets VII and VIII.[6] The Zū and Era myths are well represented as is also that of Nergal and

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[1] *AS* VI, pp. 145–165; VII, pp. 135–136, where another fragment of the same tale from the Nineveh library of Ashurbanipal was identified (K. 3378).

[2] *AfO* XVII, pp. 43–44. Dr. Gurney informs me that after collation the beginning of STT.38, l.78 reads *uš-kin*-[*m*]*a* as Speiser suggested from comparison with *Enuma eliš* iii, 69.

[3] *AS* VII, p. 127. This may also be a *narū*-text (see below).

[4] S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, 1952.

[5] *AfO* XVII, pp. 354–356.

[6] *JCS* VIII, pp. 87–95.

Ereshkigal (28) of which this is a later and expanded version.[1] The Cuthean legend of Naram-Sin is substantially restored (30). Described as a saga,[2] it is a pseudo-historical work of which the reliability is much discussed. Only accessions of further comparative material will enable works of this type to be fully appreciated. The poem of the righteous sufferer, the so-called Babylonian Job (*ludlul bēl nimēqi*),[3] three fragments of fables, two of the Wheat and the Grain-goddess (34–35),[4] many hymns, prayers (directed to the deities Marduk, Ishtar, Ea, Gula, Shamash, Nabu, Tashmetum and Enlilbanda) and a prayer for blessing on the city of Assur (87) enrich the repertoire of religious literature.

The broken historical text (43) assigned to Shalmaneser III is more likely a school version of a letter or report to the goddess Ishtar (*Gottesbrief*) by Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (681–669 B.C.) with affinities in subject matter and language to fragments already known from the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh.[5] The reference in the opening paragraph to Aššur-bēl-ka'in, if the person is the Commander-in-Chief of the earlier Assyrian monarch, is probably an historical allusion in a summary of events on the northern, Urarṭian, border.

All this rich material will be a mine of information for Assyriologists and specialists for years to come. For that reason it is to be hoped that the next volume containing the omens, hemerologies and astronomical texts will not be long delayed. Dr. Gurney has wisely furnished copies elsewhere of the Eponym lists with their important data for elucidating the chronology of the reigns of Adad-nirari II and Tukulti-Ninurta II.[6] Since these also have mathematical calculations on the reverse they must be schoolboys' exercises and the fact that the extract ends in 750 B.C. is probably of less significance than the author implies. This excellent book makes it all the sadder that excavation at Sultantepe has come to an end. It is good, however, to know that work at Harran itself may continue. This site already promises well and Dr. Gurney, in another capacity, is helping to make the results available.[7]

D. J. WISEMAN.

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[1] O. R. Gurney, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLI, pp. 27–29.

[2] *AS* V, p. 96. This type of text is often called *narû*-literature, i.e., royal historical texts of an apocryphal nature.

[3] *AS* IV, pp. 65–99.

[4] The text and translation of these will appear in the forthcoming volume of *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* by W. G. Lambert.

[5] KK 2852, 7599, 9622; cf. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, p. 102f.

[6] *AS* III, pp. 15–21.

[7] He is the Editor of *Anatolian Studies*, in the forthcoming volume VIII of which there is an important article by C. J. Gadd on the Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus. See also reference in *PEQ*, Jan.–June 1958, p. 2.

The Middle Cypriot Bronze Age. By Paul Åström. Lund. 1957. Pp. xviii, 307. 40 plates. 19 text figs. Sw. Kr. 60.

This volume was prepared by the author as his doctoral thesis, and also as part of the fourth volume of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition.* It therefore follows the plan already established for the concluding volumes of that work.

The Middle Bronze of Cyprus has long since been defined by Myres from the tomb groups of earlier excavations, but little was known of the settlements, until Gjerstad's excavation at Kalopsida was published in his *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus.* Subsequently, a very few sites of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition yielded evidence for this period. Well documented material is therefore meagre, but the author has collected a valuable corpus of all that is available. Within the limits of the awkward arrangements of the S.C.E. the chapters on architecture, pottery and other arts and crafts present a full and detailed catalogue of material: the meat of the discussion is to be found in those on relative chronology, foreign relations and absolute chronology.

The Cypriot sequence is based on the stratigraphy of Kalopsida which is here re-studied in the light of recent knowledge, and on some fifty tomb groups which have been reasonably scientifically excavated. Pottery forms the bulk of the material and emphasises the transition from Red Polished ware of the Early Bronze Age to the Painted wares of Middle Bronze. The types have been to some extent re-classified to include the mass of examples now available; but the basic typology established by Gjerstad has been retained though it is now apparent that the sequence numbers for the White Painted wares are awkward to use. New styles, in some cases contemporary, have forced Åström to create transitional types with subsidiary titles as "White Painted II–III framed Caduceus" which are not always happy. But the re-arrangement has clarified the development of the island styles and designs, with which the local potters were experimenting. It is still surprising how few pieces have been found abroad.

Two exceptions are the White Painted IV–VI Crossline style which is recorded half as many times on the mainland as in Cyprus; and White Painted V–VI ware of fig. XVI, 11–12, 14–17 and fig. XVIII, 10, also alien, which is recorded equally frequently at Ras Shamra and elsewhere on the mainland as in Cyprus. The latter should perhaps be considered separately from the remainder of the group which seems to have developed from Cypriot types. The bulk of the White Painted V pottery belongs to the end of Middle Cypriot III when foreign influence prior to the commencement of the Late Bronze Age is becoming apparent and many new types appear. Red-on-Black ware which became popular abroad is attributed to this phase also; Plain White again is a foreign introduction, probably from Syria, which eventually supplants local wares in L.B.A.

The metals and other objects furnish little or nothing in foreign connexions and the establishment of an absolute chronology is a difficult problem. Åström bases himself wholely upon the pottery sequence from the settlements and tomb groups, but as there is no break in continuity from Early Cypriot III through to late Cypriot I, some point of demarcation has to be established. For the beginning of Middle Cypriot the appearance of White Painted II denotes the new style of pottery more distinctive than White Painted I which derived directly from the Red Polished ware. For the end, the appearance of Basering ware is retained; but inevitably some types must survive from the previous period, or be carried over to the latter, in which case opinions will differ as to their placing.

Middle Cypriot dating is discussed in the chapter on absolute chronology. For its commencement, the occurrence of the M. Minoan Ia jar in an E. Cypriot III tomb is taken for a *terminus post quem* and a revised date *c.* 1800 B.C. is suggested. The terminal date of 1600 B.C. is implied by the earlier appearance of Bichrome wares in Syria, Egypt and Palestine; and also by the occurrence of a Proto-Basering ware in the, as yet, unpublished tombs from Stephania, near Myrtou.

This volume is a valuable assessment of the Middle Cypriot period, which yields a rather narrow picture of local development. The available sites, with the exception of Lapithos and Gallinoporni, stretch across the central plain, but there is insufficient evidence for a discussion on distribution, though an Eastern style is mentioned which in some cases may be influenced from the mainland. The illustrations are of a high standard, though the addition of the scale to the captions, rather than in the list of illustrations, would be more useful. There is also a full bibliography, and an index of tomb groups, as well as a general index.

J. DU PLAT TAYLOR.

Masada. Survey and Excavations 1955–1956 *by the Hebrew University, Israel Exploration Society, Department of Antiquities.* By M. Avi-Yonah, N. Avigad, Y. Aharoni, I. Dunayevski, S. Gutman. Published by the Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem. 1957. Pp. 60, plates 1–16. Reprinted from the *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1957.

This slim volume is of considerable interest. The fortress of Masada in the Judean desert which figures so prominently in the pages of Flavius Josephus was of Maccabean construction; it played an important rôle in the life story of Herod and his family; a centre of rebel activity during the great Jewish revolt, it only fell to the Romans after an epic siege in A.D. 73, thereafter to be more or less deserted. The site and the surrounding Roman siege camps have attracted attention for over a century, and in 1932 Schulten conducted a survey here, which concentrated mainly on the Roman camps. Additional exploration, long overdue but deterred by the very difficult physical conditions of the region began (under the inspiration of S. Gutman) in the forties and led in due course to the sending out of the two joint expeditions whose findings form the subject of this report. These findings are of value, in spite of the very short time spent on the site and the very limited amount of actual excavation done, and give body to the descriptions in Josephus's pages. The overall picture emerging now is as follows. The fortress consisted in essentials of a large platform (the " upper terrace ") surrounded by casemate walling and containing various buildings both military and civilian. These included Herodian barrack and store buildings, a large structure (Schulten's " palace ") which may have housed the courtiers, and at least one structure going back to the Maccabean era. Twenty metres lower than the fortress proper a rock ledge jutting out at the north end of the hill was adapted to form a " middle terrace ": it housed a curious structure, partly rock cut and partly built up, consisting of two concentric masonry circles topping a rectangular base, whose purpose is not clear: there was also a bathing pool. Thirteen metres below this again, and still further northwards, another step in the rock carried Herod's palace proper, a peristyle building composed of four portico-like cloisters surrounding a central courtyard. The fortress was provided with a large number of substantial cisterns, some of which were fed by an aqueduct collecting the winter flood waters of the Judean desert.

In detail these constructions show a great deal that is interesting. Technically the chaining of the walls to the rock by means of beams jutting out from rock crags seems a special adaptation of old oriental constructional practice; poor walling covered by plastering was however known also in the Greek world, and planning shows analogies (traced by the excavators) to other palatial sites in the Hellenistic tradition like Pergamon. Decorative forms and techniques (plaster mouldings over poor stone) resemble what is already known of Roman private and public buildings of the Herodian age in Palestine, and the occurrence of " standard " Roman Corinthian capitals in this well dated building is of special interest. Our knowledge of this great site is however still far from complete, and fuller light here might tell us much about other fortresses and palatial structures of this important but not very well documented period. Excavations on a full scale are therefore urgently to be desired. Let us hope that they may not be delayed too long.

B. S. J. Isserlin.

The Natufian Culture; The Life and Economy of a Mesolithic People in the Near East. By Dorothy A. E. Garrod. Albert Reckitt Archaeological Lecture, British Academy. 1958. Pp. 17, 9 plates.

The recent excavations at Jericho and Jarmo in North Iraq have focussed attention on the problems of early agriculture and the domestication of animals, an economic change of far-reaching importance; important enough to be referred to as the " Economic Revolution ". This revolution in Europe took the form of incoming farmers displacing or absorbing peoples whose economy was based on hunting and food gathering; it was, however, the results of innovations from outside Europe and did not originate from the hunting communities themselves.

The Near East appears to be an area where transition from one economy to the other took place, and while it is not yet possible to see the reasons for such a change, the stages through which it passed are beginning to emerge. The base of Jericho consists of a settlement of considerable extent, surrounded by what appears to be a defensive wall with at least one well-made tower. The inhabitants seem to have been farmers with possibly domesticated animals and, almost certainly, some form of agriculture, but without any trace of pottery. It is obvious that this well-built settlement and stable economy was not built overnight, but that behind it were transitional stages leading back to the purely hunting and food gathering communities which had been in existence for thousands of years.

It is because an understanding of this transition is so essential if the evidence from Jericho is to be kept in perspective that Miss Garrod's paper is so timely and valuable. The Natufian as an industry has been known for a long time, having been discovered and named by Miss Garrod some thirty years ago. The excavations at Mt. Carmel and elsewhere clearly showed the Natufian's stratigraphical relationship to the long succession of hunters and gatherers since it forms the upper layers of the cave sequence in Palestine and Syria. It was apparent even in the early days of its discovery that it contained elements which had not been previously found, the dog was domesticated, there were well-made pestles and mortars (some cut into the floor of the cave), flint sickle-blades with elaborately carved bone or antler hafts and stone structures consisting of dry stone walling and pavements, as well as a complex tomb of stone recently found in Israel. This evidence suggests not only that there was a possible change in the economy, though hunting still played an important part, but that the permanent structures in the caves indicate that the occupants were more settled than before. The Natufian would thus appear to represent the transitional stage from hunting to the well-constructed and thickly populated settlements of early Jericho.

Miss Garrod's paper summarizes the available evidence regarding this extremely important transitional stage, and coming as it does at a moment when the evidence for the major economic change is coming into the open it is a very welcome contribution, for not only does it emphasize the period immediately preceding early Jericho, but clearly demonstrates the bridge between the two sections of prehistoric research.

JOHN WAECHTER.

Ancient Semitic Civilizations. By Sabatino Moscati. Elek Books, London. 1957. Pp. 254. Plates XXVI, text ills. 4, maps 4. 25*s.*

There is an ever-increasing demand for popular books on archaeology, especially on the archaeology of the ancient Near East, and the supply seems to keep pace with the demand. Here is one more excellent book of this kind by a thoroughly competent guide who occupies the chair of Semitic Philology in the University of Rome. The book first appeared in Italian in 1949, and has already been translated into German and French. During the eight years that have elapsed since the original publication considerable advances have been made in several of the fields covered by the author, especially in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which receive only a slight mention. But, with this slight reservation, the author has covered his vast field with great skill, and the lay reader could not have a more reliable and entertaining guide to the civilizations of the ancient Semitic world. By his terms of reference Egypt, of course, is omitted from the author's survey, and from the point of view of the Biblical student this is regrettable.

S. H. HOOKE.

The Excavations at Qumran. A Survey of the Judaean Brotherhood and its Ideas. By J. van der Ploeg, O.P. Longmans, Green & Co. London. 1958. xi, 233 pp. 14 plates. 16*s.* 6*d.*

This is a translation of *Vondsten in de Woestijn van Juda*, which was published in 1957 in the Dutch series *Prismaboeken* (comparable to our Penguins and Pelicans). It is written for the general public, not for specialists, and is a first-rate book of its kind. The author, who is Professor in the University of Nijmegen and a renowned biblical scholar, does not obtrude his scholarship, but there can be no doubt of the informed scholarship and sound judgment underlying all that he writes.

Professor van der Ploeg was one of the first European scholars to see the manuscripts from Cave I which were acquired by St. Mark's Monastery in 1947. In his first chapter, which gives an account of the discovery of the scrolls, he is able to add some details from his own experience, which may help those who wish to piece together the disjointed pieces of a very complicated crossword puzzle—the truth about the finding and acquisition of the scrolls from Cave I. He then goes on to summarize the course of Jewish history between 100 B.C. and A.D. 70; against this background he discusses the rise and fortunes of the Qumran community, with its beliefs and practices. He describes the contents of their library, and concludes his work with a consideration of the leading points of comparison and contrast between the community and the primitive Christian Church.

The community is identified as an Essene group. The equating of the

Wicked Priest (and probably also the Raging Lion of the Nahum commentary) with Alexander Jannaeus " has much to be said for it, though it is not yet fully proven " (p. 62). The lapse of time before the community reoccupied their Qumran centre after its destruction by the earthquake of 31 B.C. is tentatively explained by the possibility that Herod the Great used the opportunity provided by the earthquake to bar them from the place (p. 69). The condition of the books in some of the Qumran caves is accounted for by the suggestion that Roman soldiers tore them up in the course of mopping-up operations after the firing of Khirbet Qumran (p. 83). Surely it is unwarranted to lay any stress whatsoever on the expression " *sons* of light " as an argument for the view that the sect consisted of men only (p. 140); Paul can use the same expression (υίοὶ φωτός) of a Christian community which certainly included both men and women (I Thess. v, 5). It is suggested that the enigmatical " Book of *Hagi* " is perhaps the Mosaic law (p. 143).

There is a curious slip in the translation or printing on p. 59: what ought to have been translated as " Simon Maccabaeus (142–135 B.C.) " appears in the meaningless form " Jonathan Simon (161–143 B.C.) ".

F. F. B.

The Essenes and Christianity. An Interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls. By Duncan Howlett. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. Pp. 217. Price $3·50.

The book purports to give an outline of the contents of the manuscripts from Qumrân, of the history of the Jewish community which produced those manuscripts, and of the influence it exercised on Christianity in its cradle. By a popular treatment of his subject, the author tries to reach a public as wide as possible.

Howlett believes that the " Essene movement "—for he identifies the authors of the non-biblical manuscripts from Qumrân with the Essenes, and is probably correct in this identification—originated in the time of John Hyrcanus, Simon's son. He suggests that Pharisaean opposition to John Hyrcanus gave rise to the origin of the dissenters from Qumrân. A group of Pharisees, having withdrawn their support from the Hasmonaean king, left Jerusalem and went to live in the wilderness near the shore of the Dead Sea. Their leader was " possibly Eleazar the Pharisee who challenged John Hyrcanus ". This Eleazar " or a younger disciple " might have been the person who is described in some of the scrolls as Teacher of Righteousness. No plausible reasons in support of this view are presented. Howlett perhaps based his new theory on the report by Père de Vaux, " Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân " (*R.B.*, 63, 1956, 533–577), whilst overlooking that the group, or sect, or by whatever name we call it, of dissenters must have been in existence before its members established their abode in the wilderness. As the present book is addressed to a lay public, the author might have refrained from offering new theories that are not borne out by any evidence.

Howlett is excellently versed in American literature on his subject and fairly well informed about Israeli publications. On the other hand he is badly lacking in acquaintance with French, German and Scandinavian publications. It is surprising that such names as Eissfeldt, Kahle, Bardtke, Reicke, Molin, Kuhn, Barthélemy, Michel and Vermès are nowhere mentioned in the book.

Written with honest aims, and full of good intentions, the book is nevertheless disappointing. It is one drop more in the rising tide of literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls, and will add rather to confusion than to the enlightenment of uninformed readers. If Howlett's chief aim was to give a popular presentation of the religious life, customs and beliefs of the community that had withdrawn into the Judaean Wilderness, he could have done so without adding more guesswork about the person of the Righteous Teacher.

PAUL WINTER.

The Riddle of the Scrolls. By H. E. Del Medico. Burke Publishing Co., London. 1958. Pp. 432. 6 illustrations. 25*s*.

Dr. Del Medico is well known as a scholar of resolutely independent mind, especially in the interpretation of Near Eastern documents. His *Bible Canaanéenne* (1950) showed a remarkably different understanding of the Ugaritic texts from that found in other works in the same field; and when he published a short study of *Deux Manuscrits Hébreux de la Mer Morte* the following year, it was plain that he had adopted a similarly individual line in the interpretation of the Qumrân texts, more particularly the Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk commentary. Now he has set forth his solution to " the riddle of the scrolls " at greater length in the present volume, which is a translation of *L'Enigme des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, published in Paris in 1957. It is sad that the translator, the Rev. H. Garner, should have died shortly before the translation appeared. He has done a good work.

Dr. Del Medico identifies the Teacher of Righteousness with the Zealot leader Menahem, but (unlike Professor Driver and Dr. Roth, who not unreasonably accept the testimony of Josephus on this point), he denies that Menahem was the son of Judas of Galilee; maybe he was the son of the high priest Ananus II. The Wicked Priest was Ananias the son of Nedebaeus, who was killed by Menahem's followers in A.D. 66. (Josephus says that Eleazar, captain of the temple at the outset of the revolt, was the son of this Ananias; Dr. Del Medico says no, he was his grandson.) The " Orator of Falsehood " (or " Prophet of Lies ") was Agrippa II. The word vocalized as *Kitti'im* is not a proper noun; it is *katya'im*, " legions " (the Roman legions).

The documents which mention the Teacher of Righteousness and his contemporaries are considerably later than A.D. 66. (But as for the Zadokite work, that is Karaite; Dr. Del Medico denies that fragments of it have been found at Qumrân.) The Manual of Discipline is a composite collection of various disparate fragments, one of which reflects the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. The War scroll, in its present form, is later than the war of A.D. 132–135.

From all this it may be seen that the evidence of the palaeographers receives little countenance from Dr. Del Medico. The evidence of the archaeologists is dismissed as worthless. There was no connection between the manuscripts and Khirbet Qumrân. The manuscripts were truly (in Sukenik's phrase) *megilloth genuzoth*; in fact, they show signs of having been " passed through the fire " before being consigned to their *genizah*. (This is a point on which those who have seen and handled the scrolls could give reliable information.) The buildings at Qumrân were mainly annexes to the cemetery, temporary lodgings for the gravediggers and so forth. The cemetery was the " potter's field " acquired by the chief priests " to bury strangers in ", according to the narrative of Matt. xxvii, 7. There are traces of a potter's workshop on the site of Khirbet Qumrân. But Khirbet Qumrân was not the headquarters of a religious community—life could not be maintained for long so far below sea level. Above all it was not the headquarters of an Essene group—there never were any Essenes; they were invented by Philo.

Dr. Del Medico, in fact, touches nothing which he does not revolutionize. His interpretations are supported by his select translations from the Qumrân texts, interspersed with comments, to which the second half of his volume is devoted.

With one statement at least of Dr. Del Medico's the reviewer is in agreement: " for those who have a real, unprejudiced interest in the history of the small Jewish nation in the early years of our era, the Dead Sea manuscripts are of priceless value, and the study of them will be the work of decades to come " (p. 185). But the interpretation of these manuscripts which will finally be established is one which will do justice to the internal evidence *and* the palaeographical evidence *and* the archaeological evidence. Therefore it will not be Dr. Del Medico's interpretation.

F. F. B.

The Story of the Aleph Beth. By D. Diringer. Published for the World Jewish Congress, British Section, by Lincolns-Prager (Publishers), Ltd., London. Pp. 195. 26 plates. Cloth-bound edition, 7*s*. 6*d*.; paperback edition, 4*s*. 6*d*.

The purpose of this addition to the " Popular Jewish Library " is to provide a general introduction to the history of the Hebrew alphabet. The publishers could have secured no one better qualified to write it than Dr. Diringer, whose magnificent work on *The Alphabet* is recognized internationally as the standard study of the subject.

The book falls into three parts. In Part I Dr. Diringer sketches the background of the alphabet—the beginnings of writing and the origin of the alphabet itself. In this latter field " the main problem still awaits solution " (p. 32) but " we may date the origin of the Alphabet about 1800–1700 B.C.E." and " it is now generally agreed " that the inventors " belonged to the North-West Semitic linguistic group " (p. 36). Once invented, it was destined to conquer the world.

Part II traces the history of the Hebrew Alphabet from the earliest Hebrew inscriptions down to the Hasmonean period; attention is paid to monumental scripts, cursive script, the early Hebrew literary hand; the Samaritan script, inscriptions on jar-handles, seals and coins.

Part III deals with the square Hebrew (originally the Aramaic) alphabet, from its beginnings to the present day. It includes an account of vocalization and other punctuation, and a consideration of the modifications required when the Hebrew alphabet is used to record a non-Semitic language (such as Yiddish). A concluding discussion, " Is a Reform of the Hebrew Alphabet necessary or practicable?", raised some interesting questions; Dr. Diringer would favour a return to the script of the Hebrew kings and prophets, although he recognizes the great difficulties involved in such a reform.

A fascinating book; and it is particularly gratifying that it is produced at a price which should ensure for it the wide circulation that it deserves.

F. F. B.

Apostles of Palestine. The Local Background to the New Testament Church. By Eric F. F. Bishop. Lutterworth Press, London. 1958. Pp. 258. 30*s.*

Two or three years ago Mr. Bishop, who was Principal of the Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem from 1927 to 1949, and for seven years thereafter Lecturer in Arabic in Glasgow University, published a book entitled *Jesus of Palestine: The Local Background to the Gospel Documents.* Now he has given us a sequel which, in a lengthy series of short studies, surveys the Palestinian background of the Acts of the Apostles and other New Testament books. Wide reading and careful and sympathetic observation, coupled with a deep love for the Holy Land and its people, are evinced throughout the work. Wherever one dips into it, something is found which illuminates the apostolic writings.

In Acts, the readings of the Western text reveal interesting Palestinian affinities. On the Western reading in Acts xii, 10, where Peter and the angel go down " the seven steps " after emerging through the street-gate of Herod Agrippa's prison, Mr. Bishop remarks: " The wonder is that there ever was so small a flight in the Holy City as ‘ seven ’! . . . These ‘ seven steps ’ may have been remarkable because they were few or because they were special ” (p. 79). His profound knowledge of Islam supplies several parallels to New Testament locutions which are interesting even when no direct connection can be thought of. Thus Paul’s reference at Athens to the “ times of ignorance ” (Acts xvii, 30) is compared to the Muslim conception of *ayyam al-Jāhiliyya* (pp 95, 162), and his criticism of those who “ adulterate the word of God ” (II Cor ii, 17) is compared to the Islamic contention that the Old and New Testament texts have undergone *tahrīf*, “ corruption ” (p. 154).

There is a foreword by the late Bishop Ll. H. Gwynne, Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan.

F. F. B.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:

American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. 64, No. 4, 1958.
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Biblical Research Monthly. Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 2, 3, 1958.
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Expository Times. Vol. LXX, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1958.
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Israel Exploration Journal. Vol. 8, No. 3, 1958.
Jewish Quarterly Review. Vol. XLIX, Nos. 1, 2, 1958.
Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 78, Nos. 2, 3, 1958.
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Journal of Biblical Literature. Vol. LXXVII, Part III, 1958.
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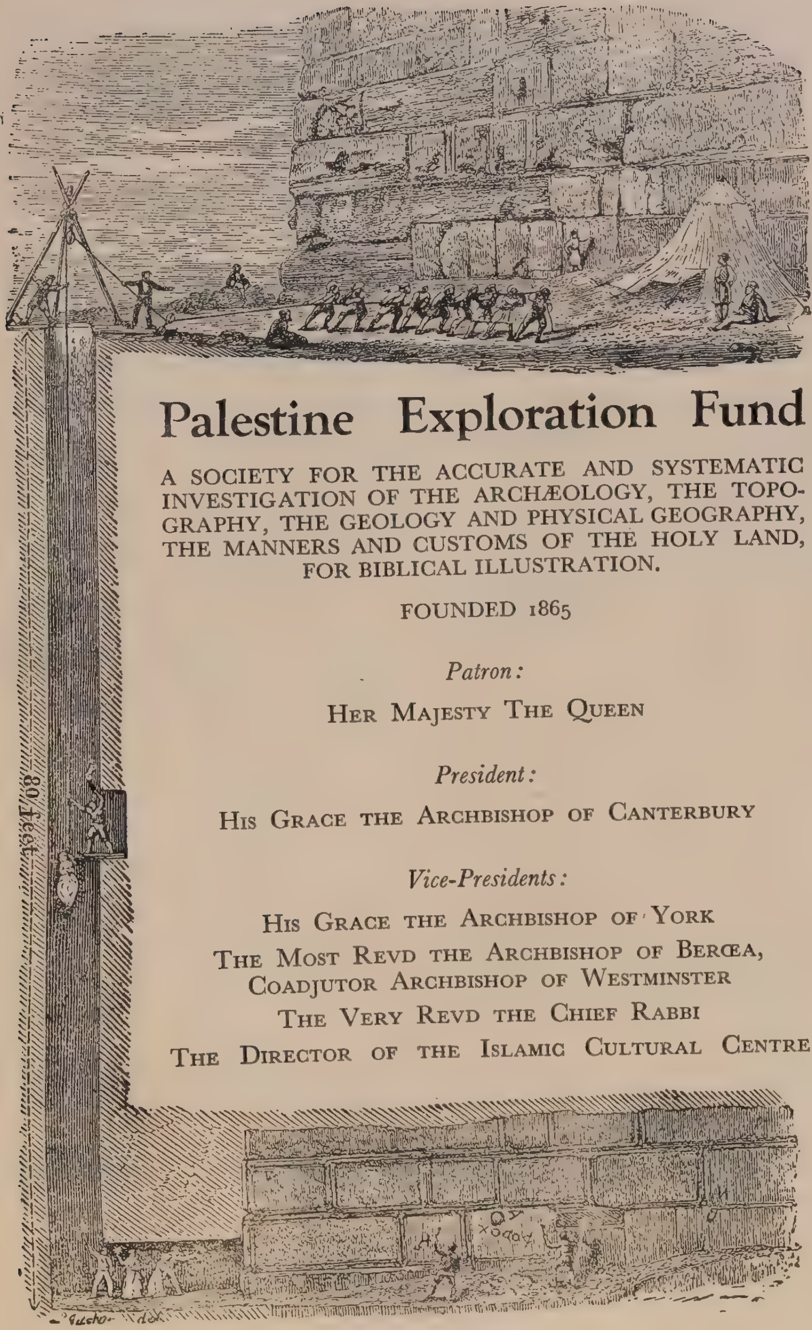

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

In starting their fourth season of excavation at Hazor last year, the members of the James A. de Rothschild Expedition were conscious that this would be their last season, at least for several years to come; they therefore decided to limit their activities to those which were likely to yield solutions to a number of stratification problems. They therefore concentrated on four sites—Areas A and B on the Mound, Area H in the Lower City (where the beginning of the orthostat temple had been discovered in the preceding year) and a new area, K, in the north-east part of the Lower City, where they uncovered the city gate of the Late Bronze Age—" one of the most formidable gate structures ever found in this country ", says Dr. Yadin—and below it the gates of Middle Bronze Age II. On the temple site (Area H) the expedition uncovered not only two phases of the orthostat temple but two earlier temples, one belonging to Late Bronze Age I, and an earlier one, built on virgin soil, belonging to the Middle Bronze Age. Among interesting objects found in the temple of Late Bronze Age I (Temple II) was a clay model of an animal's liver, bearing cuneiform instructions for the diviners. In Area B evidence was found of a pre-Solomonic Israelite settlement, and—a specially exciting discovery—an idolatrous Israelite cult establishment, probably comparable to Micah's " house of gods " described in Judges xvii, 5. Beneath this were found traces of the earliest Israelite settlement of all on the site, soon after the destruction of the Canaanite city as recorded in Joshua xi, 10 f.—a temporary settlement by a semi-nomad group. In Area A the expedition succeeded in reaching the earliest settlement on the mound, represented by Stratum XXI, dated somewhere between 2750 and 2500 B.C., when Hazor's first houses were built. Thus, at the end of their fourth season of digging, the excavators were rewarded by being enabled to establish the complete stratigraphical record of Hazor from first to last. An illustrated account of the season's work was contributed by Dr. Yadin to the *Illustrated London News* of March 21 and 28, 1959.

In the *Illustrated London News* for May 16, 1959, there is a most interesting account by Dr. N. Avigad of excavations near Tell Makmish in the Plain of Sharon. The ancient name of this settlement has still to be identified , he says, but it evidently had a long and uninterrupted history from the

Early Bronze Age to Hellenistic times. Dr. Avigad's article is particularly concerned with the fortunes of the site in the Persian period, when it was apparently occupied by a Phoenician colony. He recalls the coffin-inscription of the Sidonian king Eshmun'azar (4th century B.C.), in which that king claims to have added part of the Plain of Sharon to the realm of Sidon in perpetuity. About 450 yards N.E. of Tell Makmish there is a small hillock where excavations conducted from October 1958 onwards brought to light a sanctuary of stone and sun-dried brick, erected by the Phoenician settlers of Tell Makmish. A considerable number of clay and limestone figurines was found on the site, of predominantly Phoenician character, but showing Egyptian, Persian and Greek influences. The site had been occupied previously, about the 10th century B.C., when a brick edifice of unidentified nature and extent was built on the natural sand, but the site was unoccupied from *c.* 800 B.C. till the Persian period. In the Hellenistic age the Phoenician sanctuary was destroyed, to be replaced by an open-air cult-place, which in its turn came to an end in the 2nd century B.C.

A handsome new edition of the Hebrew Bible has been issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to replace the Letteris text which the Society has hitherto used. The new edition has been prepared by Dr. Norman H. Snaith, who has spent many years on the work. His aim has been to reproduce as far as possible the Ben Asher text, now generally recognized to be the purest representative of the Massoretic recension. He has based his edition on the first hand of Hebrew MSS of Spanish provenance in the British Museum, especially Or 2625–7 and Or 2375, together with the first hand of the Shem Tob MS in the David Sassoon Library. His text is substantially the same as that prepared by Dr. Paul Kahle for Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. Dr. Kahle also aimed at reproducing the Ben Asher text, but he worked along different lines from Dr. Snaith; the measure of agreement between their editions is thus the more reassuring.

Another important edition of the Bible which has just begun to make its appearance is the *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia*, a work which, when it is complete, promises to rival, and indeed to surpass, the great Polyglot Bibles of an earlier day. It is published by La Editorial Católica, S.A., of Madrid, and will include Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Latin and Spanish biblical texts, introduced and edited by experts in the appropriate fields. Two volumes have come to hand at the time of writing—the *Prooemium*, and the *Psalterium Visigothicum-Mozarabicum* (Vol. 21 in the series covering the Old Latin Bible), edited by Mgr. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela. The next instalments to appear will deal with the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch (formerly known as the Fragmentary Targum). The introductions are written in Latin and Spanish.

In the volumes of *Mélanges Bibliques* recently published in honour of Professor André Robert, Dr. A. Malamat discusses the evidence for military rations as found in the Papyrus Anastasi I (from the reign of Rameses II) and in the Bible. He concludes that the writer of the papyrus envisaged the provisioning of an invading Egyptian army by the indigenous population of Palestine, and compares the narrative of 1 Samuel xxv, where David, during his period of outlawry in Saul's reign, is obliged to obtain provisions for his men from the local landowners. In both cases the supply exacted is called a " peace-offering "; in both, the withholding of it is regarded as hostile act. The food brought to David by Abigail for his six hundred men is itemized as regards kind and quantity, just as in the papyrus. The rations per head, as calculated by Dr. Malamat, were smaller for David's followers than for the Egyptian soldiers.

The boundary between the tribal territories of Ephraim and Manasseh, which was the subject of a detailed inquiry by Dr. Eva Danelius in recent issues of the *Quarterly*, is discussed by Professor Ernst Jenni in the latest number of the *ZDPV* (Bd. **74,** Heft 1). He takes as a fixed point the generally accepted identification by Elliger of Michmethath (Josh. xvi, 6; xvii, 7) with Khirbet Juleijil, 1½ miles S.E. of Tell Balata (Shechem); but considers afresh the rival identifications of Tappuah (Josh. xvi, 8; xvii, 7 f.)—by Abel with Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad, just over half a mile S.W. of Jasuf and nearly 8 miles S.S.W. of Nablus, and by Elliger (on purely literary grounds) in the neighbourhood of Selfit. During an excursion to the Selfit area made by the 1957 study course of the German Protestant Institute for the Study of Palestinian Antiquities, it was established that no traces of a Bronze Age or (on any considerable scale) Iron Age urban settlement were to be found in that neighbourhood. This argument from silence, for what it is worth, tells against Elliger's identification. The identification with Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad remains the most probable. Elliger's argument that the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* implies a greater distance than half a mile between Tappuah and " the water of Yashub " (Jasuf) is minimized on the ground that it attaches too great importance to the doubtful data of a late Jewish pseudepigraph. Jenni accepts the emendation of the common noun " inhabitants " in Josh. xvii, 7 to the place-name " Yashub " (an emendation supported by the LXX text, as Dr. Danelius has pointed out); but instead of concluding that Yashub and Tappuah are therefore two quite distinct localities, he regards " Yashub " as a later gloss on " En-tappuah "—a gloss based on accurate knowledge of the district. If he is right in this, then the identification of Tappuah with Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad is strengthened and not weakened by the text of Josh. xvii, 7.

The same issue of *ZDPV* has an article by Professor Alfred Jepsen entitled " Pardes ", in which he examines the statement in Neh. ii, 8, that Asaph, keeper of the royal *pardes*, was instructed to supply Nehemiah with timber for use in his building projects. His suggestion is that this particular *pardes* was in Judaea, adjoining the later Herodium, the modern name of which, Jebel Ferdeis, preserves the Persian term. The translation of *pardes* by " forest " in A.V., R.V. and R.S.V. of Neh. ii, 8, is no doubt due to the mention of timber in connection with it; it is, of course, a loanword from Persian *pa^{i}ri-daēza* (whence also Gk. παράδεισος), a place walled around, and might be better rendered " park "; this park would probably have enough trees in it to provide timber for Nehemiah's requirements.

Dr. Meyshan, who contributes a further paper on Jewish numismatics to this number of the *Quarterly*, has an article on " The Canopy Symbol on the Coins of Agrippa I " in the *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*, **22** (1958), pp. 157 ff. Agrippa's coins, which bear three ears of barley on the reverse, have on the obverse an object which he identifies as a canopy or baldachin, such as was carried over the heads of Persian kings, and such as appears on a coin of Aelia Capitolina from the reign of Heliogabalus, where canopies accompany the quadriga bearing the sacred *baitylos* of Emesa. The canopy on Agrippa's coins, he concludes, is the aniconic symbol of his royal status.

We have news of the establishment in Rome of a new *Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell' Arte del Vicino Oriente.* This centre, whose headquarters are at Piazza S. Marco 49, is intended to serve the varied interests of students of Near Eastern art and archaeology, over an area embracing Greece, Iran and Ethiopia. It is sponsored by the *Istituto per l'Oriente* and presided over by Professor Raffaele Ciasca, President of the *Istituto;* its activities are directed by a scientific council composed of Italian experts in various fields of Near Eastern study.

The Association of British Orientalists announces the preparation of a *Bulletin of Oriental Studies in Progress*, which will provide an annual record of work (in hand and nearing completion) in Oriental studies throughout the United Kingdom. Two out of the seven sections into which the *Bulletin* will be divided take Palestinian archaeology into their purview. Further information may be had from Mr. Richard Hill, School of Oriental Studies, Elvet Hill, Durham.[1]

We are indebted to the Rev. E. F. F. Bishop for drawing our attention to a possible reference to the Essenes in J. E. Hanauer's *Folk-lore of the Holy Land* (London, 1907), p. 106. He speaks there of a ruined cistern on the north side of the Kidron valley, not far from Jerusalem, called by the peasantry Deir es-Sinneh, in whose neighbourhood traces of a village and some old baths were found some years previously; and relates some curious tales told of the ancient inhabitants of the place, known by the generic name es-Sanawîneh. Some of these tales are of the " Wise Men of Gotham " variety but it may be significant that they are said to have been worshippers of the heavenly bodies. Because of their lack of common sense, they perished with the exception of one family, which survived at Bethany. Canon Hanauer himself thought that the people referred to must be the Essenes, " of whom ", he adds, " as far as the writer is aware, no actual traces have as yet been discovered, except those of the cistern and baths above referred to " (p. 136). If any of our readers have further information to supply on this matter we should be very glad to receive it.

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[1] The 1958 *Bulletin* has now been published.

An interesting parallel to the inscriptions on the trumpets, standards and javelins in the Qumrân *Rule of War* occurs in Lady Flavia Anderson's *The Rebel Emperor* (Gollancz, 1958). Hung Hsiu-chüan, leader of the Tai Ping rebellion (1850), made himself a sword, " an artifact of great beauty ", on the blade of which were inscribed the characters, " Sword for beheading demons " (*i.e.*, the Manchus); " and when it was finished Hung wrapped it carefully away in a piece of silk to await the day when the Supreme Lord, Shang-ti, should command him to use it " (pp. 92f.). Later, Hung ordained whipping as a penalty for those whose disreputable behaviour threatened public morals. " On his instructions wooden rods were cut on which were inscribed different characters, such as ' Beat all vagabonds plotting evil ', ' Beat thieves, robbers and gamblers ', ' Beat the female seducers ' " (p. 102).

From now on, all communications to the Editor should be addressed to him at the Faculty of Theology, The University, Manchester, 13.

HAZOR, SAMARIA AND LACHISH

A SYNTHESIS

By OLGA TUFNELL

The publication of *Samaria-Sebaste* 3 and *Hazor* I during 1958[1] presents a welcome opportunity to compare at one and the same time the contents of the stratified deposits from these sites with the material from contemporary tombs and from Iron Age cities at Lachish. No more favourable moment could be found to re-examine the conclusions published five years ago in *Lachish* III with regard to the destruction levels, for these three sites between them almost span the proverbial extent of the Promised Land " from Dan even unto Beersheba," and they offer the widest possible view of the culture of Israel and Judah during two centuries.

I. THIRTEENTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES B.C.

A. *Bronze Age destructions*

Both Lachish and Hazor were important Canaanite cities in the time of Joshua; he took two days to overcome Lachish during his campaign against the Amorite League, and though it is not expressly stated that he burnt the city (Joshua x, 32) it might be inferred that it was normally Joshua's policy to do so, since it was thought necessary in the following account of the destruction of northern tells (Heb. *tillim*) to mention that " Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only " (Joshua xi, 10–13).

At nearly all points where excavation penetrated below the Iron Age levels at Lachish, a thick layer of black earth and ash was exposed (*L*.III, p. 77, *L*.IV, pp. 36 f.), and the imported pottery found in it appeared to be closely contemporary with the Mycenaean wares dating from the last phases of the Late Bronze Age in the thirteenth century B.C., which came from the south-west corner of the rectangular enclosure at Hazor (*Hazor* I, Area C). The Canaanite cities at Hazor and Lachish are therefore sealed off from the Iron Age cities which follow by a destruction layer of similar composition, though there is nothing to prove that it was the work of Joshua. Evidence for immediate rebuilding after this disaster in the twelfth or eleventh century may come to light in future excavations, but so far there is little to indicate that an urban settlement existed at either site during this time.

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[1] Reviewed in *P.E.Q.*, 1959, pp. 62–71.

B. *Relationship between the Bronze Age and Iron Age Cities*

The layout of the last burnt Canaanite city influenced the architectural plan of the earliest Iron Age city at Lachish. The brick and stone walls followed the contours of the mound, and at some points the earlier system may have been incorporated into the Iron Age fortifications. The north-west angle of the principal building (Palace A) was directly founded on the same corner of its burnt Bronze Age predecessor. At the opposite south-east corner, a trial cut through the plaster court of Palace C (attributed to Level III) established the fact that here in the heart of the mound there was a Bronze Age " Government Storehouse," the walls of which were cut through by later rubbish pits, though in this area at least there was no sign of fire (*L*.III, Fig. 4 on p. 78, cf. Pl. 16:6). Above these rooms and pits many sherds were found which could be confidently compared with sherds from Strata B_{2-3} at Tell Beit Mirsim, and from Stratum V at Megiddo, while it will be interesting to see how far the comparisons hold for Tell el-Ful, when that pottery is published. These occupational phases may come down into the tenth century B.C.

It is therefore clear from what has already been seen that there was no general " great destruction level " between that of the Bronze Age city (Level VI) and that of Level III near the centre of the mound, neither was it apparent on the west side (*L*.III, p. 171)[1].

It is too soon in the excavation programme at Hazor to establish the relationship between the earliest Iron Age strata X–IX on the Acropolis, and the underlying buildings, though Dr. Yadin states that " Stratum XI seems to belong to the L.B. II period." He goes on to say that " there is a clear gap between the Canaanite era . . . and the restoration of the town by Solomon. Iron I pottery was scarcely found, and the little of it discovered indicates a temporary settlement only."[2]

II. TENTH CENTURY

A. *Building programmes under David and Solomon.*

And the king commanded, and they brought great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones to lay the foundation of the house. And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them, and the stonesquarers:[3] *so they prepared timber and stones to build the house* (I Kings v, 17, 18).

---

[1] For the hypotheses on which Miss Kenyon bases her 597 B.C. date for the destruction of Level III, see *S.S.* 3, pp. 207–208.

[2] *Hazor*, An Archaeological Exhibition at the British Museum, May-June, 1958, p. 20. The excavations of 1958 showed that Strata XII–XI were still Israelite in character, but the poor remains of the earlier phase confirmed that Hazor was not reconstructed as a fortified town before the time of Solomon (*I.E.J.* **9** [1959], p. 80).

[3] So A.V.; margin, " Giblites ", *i.e.*, " men of Gebal " (R.S.V.).

And this is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer (I Kings ix, 15).

The credit for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem belongs to David; it was his inspiration which set the plans in motion, and his foresight which gathered the strangers together and set the masons to work (I Chronicles, xxii, 2). He made provision of gold, silver, brass, iron, timber and stone in abundance, but feeling himself unworthy for the task, he directed his son to increase the stocks of supplies and to accomplish this holy enterprise. Though it is clear that foreign stonemasons were already famous as the best of their kind in David's reign, we have to look back possibly as much as two centuries to find examples of their work. A magnificent complex of palace buildings in dressed stone at Ras Shamra (Ugarit)[1] seems to provide the earliest parallel so far available for the style of masonry which was to be employed in Israel for government buildings, palaces and city walls from the tenth century onwards. Until 1954 no such buildings constructed in this style had been found in Judah, but Dr. Aharoni's excavations at Ramat Rahel, just south of Jerusalem, revealed masonry " almost exactly similar to the ' inner wall ' of Samaria " (*I.E.J.* **6** [1956], pp. 138–144 and Pl. 23 B).[2]

The building programme outside Jerusalem was only begun half-way through Solomon's reign (I Kings ix, 10), which would leave some twenty years for its completion, if we assume that the conventional forty years ascribed to Solomon's reign (and also to that of his father) were approximately correct. A mention of the Egyptian king Shishak (Sheshonq I, *c.* 952–920 B.C.) in I Kings xi, 40, as contemporary with Solomon, and in xiv, 25, as contemporary with Rehoboam, enables us to say with some confidence that the resettlement of Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer took place in the latter half of the tenth century. These three cities dominating the plains of Huleh, Jezreel and Ajalon respectively were strategic key points in the primary defence of the newly-established kingdom.

B. *Hazor rebuilt*

A city gate at Hazor (found during the third season) proved to be identical in plan and measurements with a gate at Megiddo, attributed by the excavators to Stratum IV B. In a recent article, Dr. Yadin compares them also to part of the " Maccabean Castle " at Gezer; he suggests that " the three gates and walls all belong to the same period, and were in fact built by Solomon's architects from identical blue-prints, with minor changes in each case made necessary by the terrain ".[1] The city wall and gate attributed by the excavators of Megiddo to Stratum IV B, should " perhaps be ascribed to IV A " in the light of the Hazor evidence (*Hazor* I, p. 35). Reconstruction of the pottery from Megiddo into its original groups—irrespective of stratum attribution—should now go far towards obtaining a clear picture of developments on that site.

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[1] *Syria*, **12** (1931), pls. xii, 1, 3; *Syria*, **13** (1932), pl. xv, 3.

[2] From the material so far discovered the pottery may be dated " not earlier than the eighth century B.C.," and though the excavator considers that some of the finds may belong to the ninth century, the illustrations point closely to the seventh or early sixth century. A late date for the building of Ramat Rahel would be in keeping with the newly-published evidence from South Arabia, where " marginally drafted, pecked masonry " begins in the middle of the seventh century. For a valuable study of this style and its derivatives, see Van Beek in *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, by Richard Le Baron Bowen, Jr., Frank P. Albright, *et al.* (Baltimore 1958).

C. *Lachish fortified after the Schism*

And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah. He built even Beth-lehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Gath, and Mareshah, and Ziph, and Adoraim, and Lachish, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron, which are in Judah and in Benjamin fenced cities (II Chronicles xi, 5–10).

On the division of the kingdom, Rehoboam had to protect Judah from Philistine attack, and a third of his fenced cities overlooked the coastal plain; others were placed in strategic positions to control the passes to the hinterland (*L.* III, Map facing p. 29). Among these fifteen cities, Beth-zur, Mareshah, Lachish, Azekah, and mounds proposed as the site of Gath, have been partially excavated. Where masonry has been exposed, walls were composed of rough boulders only crudely square. Corner stones were more carefully finished, but many small stones were used between the courses and the effect and durability of the wall above ground level was improved by one or more coats of lime plaster.

Nothing remains of the first Iron Age palace (A) at Lachish, except a stone podium 32 metres square, comparable perhaps to David's Millo (Hebrew: " filling "). It appears to encase the ruins of the Bronze Age citadel, and to form a platform for the foundation of a building, which may have been the focal point of Rehoboam's fenced city. The ceramic evidence to prove it can only be obtained when the area is more fully excavated. However, beyond the south-east corner of the later palace B-C, a trial cut through the plaster courtyard of Palace C produced pottery which appears to be of earlier origin than the majority of sherds found at or below the foundation level of the six-metre brick wall encircling the city, of which a small section was seen on the west side of the mound (*L.*III, p. 87 and Pl. 109).

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[1] *I.E.J.* **8** (1958), pp. 85–86.

D. *Pottery Comparisons*: *Hazor X–IX*, *Lachish V*

Comparisons of the sherds from the south wall trial cut at Lachish (*L*.III, Pl. 105) and of the material from the small section of Strata X–IX exposed in the first season at Hazor (vol. I, Pls. XLV–XLVI) cannot be especially rewarding, though the sherds covered with reddish-brown slip burnished all over are common to both phases, like the distinctive bar handles.

III. Ninth century

A. *Defence measures in the Divided Kingdoms*

The six-metre brick city wall at Lachish may be due to extensive building works in Judah under Rehoboam's grandson, Asa (II Chronicles xiv, 6). The top surface of the same construction is to be seen in plan on Pls. 111 and 114 of *L*.III, where this wall is interrupted by projecting brick piers on either side of the gate (*L*.III, p. 94). Those were the outer piers of a complex gate system, of which the inner threshold was excavated (*L*.III, Pls. 15: 1–4); it led to a row of shops and houses designated as Level III. Both the inner gate towers and the road surface, as well as the shops facing the street which led into the city were destroyed by fire, and the event which brought this phase to an end will be discussed when the comparable phases at Hazor and Samaria have been examined. Meanwhile, it is only necessary to point out that the six-metre brick city wall must have continued in use until the destruction of Level III.

The defence programme in Judah may well have been spurred on by contemporary events in Israel; Asa had turned the threat to his own kingdom by bribing Ben-Hadad, king of Syria, to break his pact with Israel, and consequently the cities of the northern kingdom were attacked (I Kings xv, 20; II Chronicles, xvi, 4). The excavators of Hazor consider that the burning of Stratum IX can be inferred from the Biblical account. " Only the conquest of the northern frontier cities ", they write, " is explicitly mentioned, but since the greater part of the land of Naphtali with all its store-cities was occupied, and Ben-Hadad's army reached the Kinnereth district, it is hardly to be supposed that Hazor remained untaken " (*Hazor* I, p. 23).

B. *Foundation and growth of Samaria*

In the thirty and first year of Asa, king of Judah, began Omri to reign over Israel, twelve years; six years reigned he in Tirzah. And he bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, Samaria (I Kings xvi, 23, 24).

Five years after the Syrian campaign, Omri left Tirzah and founded his new capital at Samaria, though he cannot have lived to see its completion, which must date from the reign of his son, Ahab.

The architects who planned the new city were unhampered by previous buildings on the mound, and they were able to lay out the buildings with " geometrical regularity ", while the masons lavished their skill on the finish and accurate fitting of the blocks which formed the walls. At Samaria, as Dr. Crowfoot remarked, " we shall be mainly concerned with the fortifications, the remains of the internal buildings being too fragmentary to make much sense " (*S.S.* 1, p. 7). The enclosure wall of Period I is partially preserved on the north side of the hill; it consisted of the stone foundations for a wall 1·60 m. thick, of which the superstructure was probably of sun-baked bricks (*S.S.* 1, p. 5). If bricks were used in the building of Samaria, it would perhaps represent a retrogression from the standards of Solomon's masons, for there is no mention of them in the detailed list of the materials needed for the building of the Temple.

In Period II a casemate wall was built outside and surrounding the original enclosure wall, which continued in use throughout the Israelite period. It is these constructions which have been repeatedly compared with the buildings of Megiddo, Stratum IV (see in particular Crowfoot in *P.E.Q.*, 1940, pp. 146 f., and more recently Kenyon in *S.S.* 3, pp. 200 f.); though the similarity of the drafting of the stones, the details of the bonding and the use of smooth-dressed stones above bossed lower courses are very striking, there are differences also which Miss Kenyon does not fail to point out. If we accept the synchronism of the Stratum IV A gate at Megiddo with that of Strata X–IX at Hazor (see p. 92 above), then we must agree that the fortifications of Periods I and II at Samaria are about sixty years later, which is not unreasonable, when it is considered that a much wider range both in time and place is now allowed for this type of masonry (see also note on p. 92). However, masonry of this type was no longer dressed on purpose for the buildings of Period III. Indeed, stones were re-used from the earlier buildings, and the foundations were from 1 m. to 1·30 m. in thickness, very roughly coursed and fitted (*S.S.* 1, p. 101).

The foundations of the important Pillared Building at Hazor (Stratum VIII) compare with them in width (1·20 m.). The plan consisted of a large hall divided lengthwise by two parallel rows of pillars, which were square and roughly dressed, and the burnt layer covering Stratum IX ran under them. The authors of *Hazor* I make it clear that this public building was not a stable, and they remark that the finds discovered on the shelves between the pillars support its identification as a store-house (p. 13). In the opinion of the excavators, the Pillared Building was erected in the reigns of Omri-Ahab, and it continued in use after repairs (Stratum VII) until the end of the ninth century, *c.* 815 B.C.

C. *Pottery comparisons*: *Hazor X-VIII*, *Samaria I–III*

In attempting a synchronism of pottery at these sites, it must be rememered that at Samaria the pottery described and figured from a particular phase represents the sherds from beneath the floors of the structure, for the good reason that nothing was found upon them, while at Hazor, Lachish and elsewhere it is more usually that of the latest occupation on the floors (*S.S.* 3, p. 90). In a recent article on " A New Scheme for the Sub-Division of the Iron Age in Palestine ",[1] Dr. Aharoni and Mrs. Amiran conclude that the pottery from beneath the floors of III buildings at Samaria belongs to the previous occupational phases, which antedate the building operations of Omri and Ahab. They consider that the bowls of Samaria III are exactly identical with those of Hazor VIII, though this comparison is not apparent from *Hazor* I, Pl. XLVII and *S.S.* 3, Fig. 4. For instance, the " characteristic " bowl of Hazor VIII (p. 14 and Pl. XLVII:10) with thickened rim is missing at Samaria III, where the earlier plain rim is common, so that personally I should prefer to allow for an interval of a decade or so between the two deposits. This is not the place to follow the intricacies of the classification of cooking pot rims, but in Samaria III, the single rim illustrated (Fig. 4:21) is of an earlier type than those attributed to Stratum VIII at Hazor (*Hazor* I, Pl. XLVIII: 1–3). However, these points will be cleared up when the evidence from later seasons at Hazor is published. Meanwhile, the important point on which all are agreed, is that there was a break in pottery technique at the end of Period III at Samaria (*S.S.* 3, p. 199) and a striking difference between the pottery types of Strata VIII and VII at Hazor (*Hazor* I, pp. 20–23). This in itself should suggest some short interval of time.

IV. Eighth century

A. *Alterations and Repairs*

The buildings of Hazor and Samaria were repaired sometime during the last decades of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century B.C. New floors were laid in the Pillared Building at Hazor, and perhaps at much the same time the II casemate wall was repaired at Samaria, while a poorly-built wall was hurriedly constructed on the stump of the finer outer wall of Period I. The casemate wall continued in use during Period IV when it was the only fortification around the city. Within the enclosure, small rooms of irregular plan were built, and their roughly-made walls were only 0·60 cms. thick, while the surface was covered by a coat of plaster to hide deficiencies (*S.S.* 1, pp. 103–106).

The Pillared Building at Hazor was finally burnt (*Hazor* I, p. 13), and in Stratum VI above, domestic quarters were built over the official building, with house walls usually less than a metre thick. The tendency to produce irregular plans became more marked in Stratum V, and a number of hearths, bins and ovens figure in the plan (*Hazor* I, Pl. CLXXIV). It is interesting to compare the similar style of domestic building in Judah during the eighth century (*L.*III, Pls. 114–115).

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[1] *I.E.J.* **8** (1958), pp. 171–184.

These changes in town planning common to both Israel and Judah may reflect a change in policy, at least as far as Judah was concerned, which had favoured decentralized rule vested in the " princes of the people " who would require good government buildings during their control, a system which was interrupted by the attack on Judah and Jerusalem at the end of the reign of Joash, Amaziah's father (II Chronicles xxiv, 23).

The Aramaean invasion of Hazael, king of Damascus, probably also resulted in the burning of the Pillared Building at Hazor, which had been used as government premises up to that time. The same attack has also been given as one of two possible alternative causes for the phases of rebuilding at Samaria (Periods IV and IV A).

The divergent chronology of the Hebrew kings during the eighth century leaves several alternative dates open for the remaining phases of Samaria, but as far as Hazor is concerned the excavators put forward an interesting suggestion concerning the layer of debris which separates Stratum VI from V; they propose that it may have been caused by the earthquake which took place when Uzziah was king of Judah and Jeroboam II reigned in Israel (Amos i, 1; Zech. xiv, 5, and *Hazor* I, p. 22).

B. *Assyrian Campaigns*

Both Biblical and Assyrian sources combine to establish the dates of the destruction of Hazor by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732, and of Samaria by Sargon II in 722 B.C. With the destruction of the Israelite capital, Judah remained alone to withstand the advance of Assyrian troops towards Egypt. Threats to Jerusalem followed, and in 700 B.C. Lachish was besieged and captured as a necessary preliminary to the reduction of the capital. While Sennacherib was encamped at Lachish, his envoys backed by an army parleyed with king Hezekiah's officers outside the walls of Jerusalem, and the exchanges between them reveal the store set by both sides on public opinion (II Kings xviii–xix). Combined with the royal records written in cuneiform on baked clay cylinders, and with the bas-reliefs from the palace at Kouyinjik illustrating the Siege of Lachish[1], the Assyrian campaigns in Judah at the end of the eighth century are perhaps the best-documented events in the history of the Jewish kingdoms.

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[1] See R. D. Barnett on " The Siege of Lachish " (*I.E.J.* **8** [1958], pp. 161–164).

Compare the three parallel accounts of the Siege of Lachish recorded in the Old Testament:—

II Kings XVIII, 13-17.	II Chronicles XXXII, 9.	Isaiah XXXVI, 1-2.
Now in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish saying, I have offended: return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Rab-shakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great host against Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field.	After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, (but he *himself laid siege* against Lachish, and all his power with him) unto Hezekiah king of Judah, and unto all Judah that were at Jerusalem, saying, thus saith Sennacherib king of Assyria, whereon do ye trust, that ye abide in the siege in Jerusalem ?	Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah *that* Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the defenced cities of Judah and took them. And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem unto king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field.

C. *Pottery comparisons*: *Hazor VII–V*, *Samaria IV–VI*, *Lachish Level III*

Having surveyed the architectural and historical evidence for the three cities under review, we turn to the problem of the pottery. The excavators of Hazor were not able to distinguish any great differences between that of Strata VII–VI–V, and the same can be said for Periods V–VI at Samaria. The house of Period V, containing only a small amount of pottery below the floors is the last of the Israelite period on the site (*S.S.* 3, Fig 8). Whenever the floors did survive, they were overlaid by destruction debris, and no houses were subsequently built above them until the Hellenistic period (*S.S.* 1, pp. 106 f). The pottery of Period VI, deposit (1) came from a raising of level contemporary with wall 573, and was only cleared in a trench two metres wide (*S.S.* 3, p. 119 f.). Another deposit (2) came from a small " pit i " in the Period V house, used either as a rubbish dump or as a latrine; its contents were not sealed in by any floor, and the Period VII destruction debris which overlay the rest of the house did not actually overlie the pit, therefore it cannot be safely used as a closed stratified group.[1] Deposit

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[1] *P.E.Q.*, 1959, pp. 65 f.

(3) pottery came from a site on the bare hillside outside the city, where a rectangular area or " high place " was nearly surrounded by a trench packed with broken pottery, which Miss Kenyon considers is " undoubtedly contemporary with Period VI " (*S.S.* 3, pp. 120, 137–139). She points out a sherd from deposit (1) as a forerunner of the bowl with the thickened triangular rim which appears in Periods VII and VIII, and states that it is " fairly but not very common " in Period VI (Fig. 9:3). A less emphatic form occurs with the pottery from the Israelite shrine, which was rare and only found in that deposit (Fig. 13:15). A larger bowl with four handles (Fig. 20:1) is exactly like the form which became so common at Lachish by the end of the century (*L.*III, Bowl Class 13, pp. 277 f.).[2] It is difficult to reconcile these facts with the statement on p. 206 " that not a single specimen is found in Period VI ". A glance at the list which follows shows that the bowls from Period VI are paralleled at Hazor in Strata VI and V. The comparisons between the three sites show a satisfactory measure of agreement. Only the common type of store jar at Hazor, such as Pls. L: 31, 32; LII: 26, 27 and LVII: 1, 2 is unrepresented at Samaria and Lachish, which suggests that these large containers of wine or oil were either local or had closer affinities with northern types.

On the evidence of the Bible and of Assyrian records, all three sites were destroyed within thirty-five years of each other, while the excavations show that Hazor V and Samaria V were burnt, and Lachish Level III shared that fate. The parallels from Lachish with the two earlier destruction levels are too striking to be ignored, and they come from rooms in three main areas on the partially excavated mound:—

(*a*) Rooms south of the Citadel (*L.*III, Pl. 115), 1001, 1002, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1012, 1013, 1015, 1016; all are assigned to the building period of Group 4 (*L.*III, p. 104).

(*b*) Denuded rooms 1040, 1042, 1443, almost at present surface level in Grid Square J. 16/17 (Pl. 114), which, owing to their condition, could not be linked to the parallel rooms on the north side of the road, which were more deeply buried near the gate.

(*c*) Rooms north and south of the road leading into the city from the gate (Pl. 114), 1078–1081, 1084, 1085, 1090, 1092, 1094, 1095.

Except in the case of the cooking pot, Type 442 and of the dipper and juglet, Types 292 and 310, none of the forms listed is associated with the series of rooms east of the Citadel which were attributed to Level II. The dipper and juglet also occur in Tomb 106, which suggests that the rubbish in " pit i " may extend beyond the 722 B.C. destruction date at Samaria.

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[2] Needless to say, Mrs. Crowfoot had not overlooked the comparison in the general list, though the bowl, Pl. 81: 120 (from Level III rooms at Lachish), is a more exact parallel to Samaria, Fig. 20: 1, than the drawing which she cited (*S.S.* 3, p. 159).

	Hazor (vol. I)	*Samaria* (vol. 3)	*Lachish* (vol. III)	
Pottery	Stratum VII	Periods IV—IV A	Level III rooms	Tomb 1002
Bowl	Pl. XLIX:7	Fig. 7:1	48	48
Bowl	Pl. XLIX:14	—	83	—
Krater (Jar)	Pl. XLIX:36	—	490	—
Krater (Jar)	—	Fig. 6:21	499	—
		Periods V–VI Israelite shrine		
Jug	Pl. L:20	Fig. 22:8		227
Jug	Pl. L:21	Fig. 22:3	280	—
Juglet	Pl. L:14	Fig. 23:5	—	—
Store jar	Pl. L:34	Fig. 21:5	—	—
Lamp	Pl. L:38	Fig. 27:1	148	148
	Stratum VI			
Bowl	Pl. LI:15	Fig. 13:15	84	—
Bowl	Pl. LI:24	—	603	—
Cooking pot	Pl. LII:9	Fig. 30:24	—	—
Cooking pot	Pl. LII:11	Fig. 30:21	—	—
Cooking pot	—	Fig. 30:22	442	—
	Stratum V			
Bowl	Pl. LIII:15	Fig. 13:16	—	
Bowl	Pl. LIV:5	Fig. 13:9a	—	
Bowl	Pl. LIV:7	Fig. 19:7	—	
Bowl or krater	Pl. LIV:21	Fig. 20:1	120	
Cooking pot	PL. LV:4	Fig. 30:20	—	
Store jar	—	Fig. 21:10	491	
Jug	Pl. LVI:15	Fig. 22:4 House V— pit i Fig. 10:18		
Juglet	Pl. LVI:1	pit i Fig. 10:23	292	
Juglet	Pl. LVI:5	pit i Fig. 10:24	310	
	Destroyed Tiglath-Pileser III, 732 B.C.	Destroyed Sargon II, 722 B.C.	Destroyed Sennacherib, 700 B.C.	

V. Seventh and early sixth centuries

A. *Assyrian administration*

Hazor and Samaria were under Assyrian rule from the last decades of the eighth to approximately the middle of the seventh century. The Bible is silent about Hazor at this time, but the deportation of the inhabitants of Samaria, and their replacement by persons from Babylon and other cities of the Assyrian empire is recorded in II Kings xvii, 23–41. The newcomers worshipped their own gods and observed their own customs; their buildings were planned without regard for the underlying houses, and an Assyrian official was established as governor, whose pottery included, no doubt, the so-called Assyrian dinner service ware (Stratum IV at Hazor[1] and Stratum VII at Samaria).

It is known that Lachish was administered after its fall in 700 B.C. by an Assyrian governor, and that Philistine levies were assembled there in the early decades of the seventh century (*L.* III, p. 41). Much of the area around the ruined citadel was cleared, possibly for troop movements, but so little elsewhere on the mound has been excavated that other buildings besides the ramshackle rooms east of the Citadel may yet be found to represent the period. Part of a well-built city wall remains on the west slope of the tell, and in its second phase of use, the city gate was partially blocked and narrowed (*L.* III, Pls. 109, 111–113).

B. *Scythian raids and the Babylonian advance*

The Scythians, forced south from the Black Sea region by the pressure of northern nomads, dominated much of Asia for part of the seventh century. Bronze fibulae and triple-bladed arrowheads are perhaps among the few relics of their occupation, or influence at Lachish (*L.* III, p. 57). The incursion of these hordes may account for the lack of important buildings attributable to the mid-seventh century at Samaria and Lachish.

With the collapse of Assyrian power marked by the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., the cities of Palestine may have hoped for a respite from attack, but the swift Babylonian advance towards Egypt, and the refusal of the Jewish authorities to cooperate with them, as advised by Jeremiah, finally brought the full weight of Babylon against Judah, as a necessary preliminary to the attack on Egypt.

C. *Nebuchadrezzar's Campaigns*

When the king of Babylon's army fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish and against Azekah; for these defenced cities remained of the cities of Judah (Jeremiah xxxiv, 7).

[1] Mrs. Amiran informs me that sherds of this ware have been found in later seasons at Hazor.

Nebuchadrezzar campaigned against Jehoiakin in 597 B.C., and after the first siege and capture of Jerusalem he still attempted to keep the royal line of Josiah on the throne. However, Zedekiah's defection and revolt made with the connivance of Egypt resulted in severe reprisals against the rebel in 588–586 B.C., culminating in the complete destruction of Jerusalem.

Conditions on the ground within the walls of Lachish seem to support the historical probability that the city was partially wrecked in the first campaign and finally ruined a few years later. At the threshold of the city gate, above the cut-down brick towers of Level III, two phases of Level II were visible, separated by a burnt layer, and after that partial destruction the gate was narrowed (*L.* III, Pl. 15: 5–6 and Pl. 113). The same road surface served both phases until it reached the top of the heap of burnt brick some ten metres from the gate, which had never been cleared after the destruction of Level III. At this point the road divided into two surfaces, each hardened by the tread of passers-by, and both upper and lower surfaces showed signs of burning.

The violence of the final onslaught is shown by the condition of the masonry on the sloping approach road to the outer city gate, where great blocks were split by thermal fracture and were reduced to a calcined mass. The methods used to assure destruction are illustrated in the piles of burnt timber on the road surfaces against the walls. Olive stones in the debris give a seasonal date for this event in the early autumn when the fruit was still on the trees, though it is not possible to say whether all the damage was done at the time of attack. In the case of Jerusalem, for instance, the chief buildings were deliberately burnt a month after the capitulation, and the walls of the city were broken down (II Kings xxv, 3–10; Jeremiah lii, 12–14).

The death of the administrators and the deportation of citizens and artisans left only the poorer classes to cultivate the land under Gedaliah and, after his murder, there was no one to take over the rehabilitation of the larger towns.

D. *Pottery comparisons*: *Hazor IV–III*, *Samaria VII*, *Lachish Level II*, *Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A*.

Hazor IV and Samaria VII have no buildings of importance to detain us, and the pottery associated with these strata follows that of the underlying destruction layers, and much of it is probably contemporary with them. Lachish Level II, however, is represented on the mound by part of a well-built city wall and gate as described above, and by a row of ramshackle rooms east of the citadel, which were burnt with the pottery of the last inhabitants still on the floors. Whether they were destroyed in 597 or in 588–586 B.C. makes little difference to our problem, since the pottery they contained should belong to the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and a gap of nearly a century exists between the destructions of Levels III and II.

This is filled as far as Lachish is concerned by the contents of Tomb 106, probably ranging in date from *c.* 671 to 580 B.C. The thickened rim bowl continued in use during the period (*e.g.*, Types 73 and 75) while in Level II Types 78 and 79 replaced them. Rare in Level III, the disk-based lamp became predominant in Tomb 106 and Level II, while the much-discussed water decanter exhibits a real development from Type 279 of Level III, through Types 275 and 280 of Tomb 106, ending with Types 276 and 281 in Level II. The widely-spaced wheel burnish on these last decanters is typical of the same forms from Stratum A at Tell Beit Mirsim, a site which lies only eight miles south-east of Lachish.

As the range of Stratum A covers all three centuries of the Jewish Kingdoms (900–600 B.C.), which the recent work at Hazor and Samaria has done so much to subdivide, we cannot use it as a basis for a fine division of Iron Age ceramics, though it retains its value as representative of the seventh and early sixth centuries as a whole. Professor Albright found that the stratigraphic divisions of loci in Stratum A were rarely possible, but he recognized up to three superimposed floors in certain areas, showing considerable differences " between the pottery of the lowest floor designated as A1—tenth to eighth centuries—and that of the upper ones " (*A.A.S.O.R.* **21–22** [1943], para. 25). It is therefore dangerous to rely on individual comparisons of pottery forms, when we cannot tell to which phase in Stratum A they belong. Miss Kenyon has relied on individual comparisons in her discussion of the destruction date of Level III at Lachish, and she makes no mention of the contents of Tomb 106 (*S.S.* 3, pp. 206–208). A glance at the Consolidated Chart on p. 330 of *Lachish* III will show that the contents of Tomb 106 lie between the rooms of Level III and II in the order of development, and if a 597 B.C. date is accepted for the destruction of Level III, then the deposits which follow must be pushed forward well into the sixth century, when historical evidence suggests that the site was deserted. Mr. Starkey's proposal of the same date, which has been frequently quoted[1], was made in 1937 before the discovery of the Level II rooms, which were only excavated after his death. If he had had this evidence to consider, I feel sure that his conclusion would not have differed from my own, which follows the testimony of written record. It implies two main destructions at Lachish, one in 700 B.C., and another in the first (and/or second) Babylonian assault in 597 or 588–586 B.C., and all three destructions are apparent on the ground. For an acceptance of these dates, see Mrs. Ruth Amiran in *I.E.J.* **8** (1958), p. 222.

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[1] *B.A.S.O.R.* **132,** Dec. 1953, p. 46; (1955), pp. 188 f.; *B.A.S.O.R.*, **150**, April, *A.J.A.*, **58** (1954), p. 336; *J.N.E.S.* **14** 1958, p. 24.

VI. Late sixth century B.C. to fourth century A.D.

A. *Neo-Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic and Roman rule*

While space and the readers' patience will not allow a discussion of the problems which arise during the final phases at Hazor and Lachish, both places were the seat of an administrative centre. In the excavators' opinion, the citadel of Stratum III at Hazor may be as early as the seventh century B.C., and the entirely new plan which it exhibits is one which has been ably discussed by Mrs. Amiran and I. Dunayevsky in an article on "The Assyrian Open-court Building and its Palestinian Derivatives" (*B.A.S.O.R.*, **149,** February, 1958, pp. 25–32). The Residency at Lachish, occupied during the fifth-fourth century B.C. (Level I), belongs to a later development of the same plan, and when these buildings fell out of use there is little to suggest that either site ever recovered its former importance.

Much of the area north of the Israelite courtyard at Samaria was planted as a garden in Persian times, but its greatest glories were still to come. A Macedonian colony was settled on the site by Alexander, and for more than two centuries Samaria remained an outpost of Hellenism. In 30 B.C. Augustus gave the place to Herod, who renamed it Sebaste in honour of the emperor. The fluctuating fortunes of the city under the Romans brought prosperity and disaster to its temples and palaces, which can be traced through four separate periods lasting into the fourth century A.D.

VII. Conclusion

Dr. Aharoni and Mrs. Amiran have recently proposed changes in the accepted names and divisions of the Jewish kingdom period in Palestine. Their article[1] embodies the results of the work at Hazor, and it provides a most useful framework to which the results from other sites can be applied. For the benefit of readers of the *P.E.Q.* the time scale they introduce is copied in the summary below, together with the equivalent Hazor strata. The Samaria evidence is divided to emphasize the difference between the date of the construction of walls and buildings, and of the pottery embodied in the make-up of the floors. The Lachish levels are added, as far as they are known at present, with a few explanations and remarks deriving from this review of the evidence.

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[1] See p. 96, n.1.

	Approx. Date	Hazor	Samaria			Lachish
		Strata	Walls	Buildings	Pottery	Levels
ISRAELITE II	1000–950	—				
	950–925	X			I	
	925–875	IX Burnt	inner I		II	V
	875–841	VIII	casemate II		III scarse	
	Change in pottery technique and forms*					
ISRAELITE III	841–815	Repairs VII Burnt	Repair casemate, inner III	III	IV	IV?
	815–765	VI earthquake		IV	IV A	
	765–732	V Burnt		IV A	V	III
	732–721	—		V Burnt	shrine VI	↓
	721–700	IV			VII	rooms Burnt
	700–650		casemate in use till Hellen. period			II
	650–587	III				Burnt
						Burnt

* Wheel—replaces hand-burnish. Cf. Lachish Bowl class B.7 with S.S., 3, Fig. 7: 1 from repair of casemate wall; see also Fig. 13:16 from IV A and later. Bowl class B.13 from VII–V at Hazor, from VI—Israelite shrine—at Samaria.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS FROM PETRA

By Peter J. Parr

During the course of recent excavations at Petra[1], the results of which will be published in a future number of the *P.E.Q.*, there was recorded a group of rock engravings which seem hitherto to have escaped notice. The engravings occur on the flat upper surface of a fallen sandstone building block, about 0·95 × 0·54 × 0·4 m. in size. The block lies on the ground a little way to the west of the Triumphal Arch[2], approximately on a line with the more northerly of the two central piers of the Arch, right on the course of the paved street leading to the Qasr el-Bint temple (plate I, fig. A[3]). The block has evidently fallen from one of the buildings originally flanking this part of the street.

The engravings comprise three distinct figures of ibexes (one of which may be unfinished) on the left-hand (northern) side of the stone and some less distinct figures on the right-hand side (plates IV, fig. B, and V). The ibexes are each about 25 to 30 cms. in length. The outlines only of the animals have been drawn, with thin straight lines for the body and each of the limbs, and boldly curving lines for the horns. The drawings have been made by pecking at the surface of the stone with a pointed tool, the resulting lines being irregular but continuous.

At first sight these engravings seem to be most closely paralleled by those found by Anati in the Southern and Central Negev and assigned by him to his " schematized and linear " Style IV[4]. They are less close to the other drawings of ibexes found at Petra, on the Mu'eisra ridge and near the Wadi Farasa, by Dalman, and on top of Umm el-Biyara, by Morton[5]. A study of the publications of Anati (who is the only writer recently to have treated this subject in detail) reveals, however, a certain amount of confusion in the treatment of the linear and stylized type of animal drawings, a confusion which, perhaps, results from an indiscriminate use of both purely artistic and other, historical and epigraphical, criteria for the establishment of the various " Styles " into which this author divides the engravings. Thus, Style IV, into which most of the schematized ibex figures published by Anati are placed, is dated on the evidence of associated Nabataean and Thamoudic inscriptions to between the 3rd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. After this date, however, " the same style appears slightly altered, though some of its symbols, like the antelope, for example, continue to appear in the same form until much later, probably until after the Islamic Conquest ".[1] Elsewhere it is stated that " from this time [*i.e.*, 3rd century A.D.] onwards, until the end of the Middle Ages, we find very few changes. The same stylized antelopes appear again and again until late in the Arabic period ".[2] Some of these later schematized animal figures Anati would presumably place in his Style VI, which " returns to the linear and static characteristics of Style IV " and belongs to the early centuries of the Islamic era, being always accompanied by Early Arabic inscriptions.[3] It should be noted, however, that the Style VI drawings which Anati publishes[4] seem to the present writer to be much more crude in conception and execution than those of Style IV, and likewise than those of the present group from Petra.

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[1] Carried out under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

[2] For a convenient plan, see that of Horsfield in *Q.D.A.P.* **7,** 193, plan B.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Martin J. Lee, of St. George's School, Jerusalem, for this photograph.

[4] E. Anati, *P.E.Q.* **87** (1955), pp. 51–54, figs. 3–4, and plates III and VIB; *P.E.Q.* **88** (1956), pp. 5 ff., figs. 5 and 10, and plates IIA and IIIA; *Archaeology* **8** (1955), pp. 31–42.

[5] G. H. Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (1908), p. 196 and fig. 118; p. 283 and fig. 227; W. H. Morton, *Biblical Archaeologist* **19/2** (1956), pp. 32–36, and fig. 4. The bodies of the Umm el-Biyara figures find a closer parallel in the drawings published by Anati in *P.E.Q.* **88** (1956), plate IIIB, placed by him in an early phase of Style IV.

It is evident, therefore, that, judged on purely stylistic grounds, these schematized and linear engravings of ibexes form one single group, despite their wide range in time. It is misleading to assign them to any one of Anati's " Styles ", and to attempt to date them accordingly, on stylistic grounds. Dating evidence of another nature must be sought, and each group of figures treated separately.

The engravings from Petra here under discussion, which stylistically most closely resemble some of those found in the Negev with inscriptions of not later than the 3rd century A.D., must most probably be dated to a time at least five hundred years after that. The position of the building block on which they occur shows not only that they post-date the destruction of the monuments in the centre of Petra, but also that at the time they were drawn little sense of civic pride remained among the surviving inhabitants; otherwise the street, surely, would have been kept cleared and the fallen stones re-used. It is known that as late as the middle of the 5th century Petra was still a centre of some importance, with its own bishop,[5] and it is possible that some sort of settled town life went on for at least another hundred years. Observations by the writer in 1954 suggested that the final

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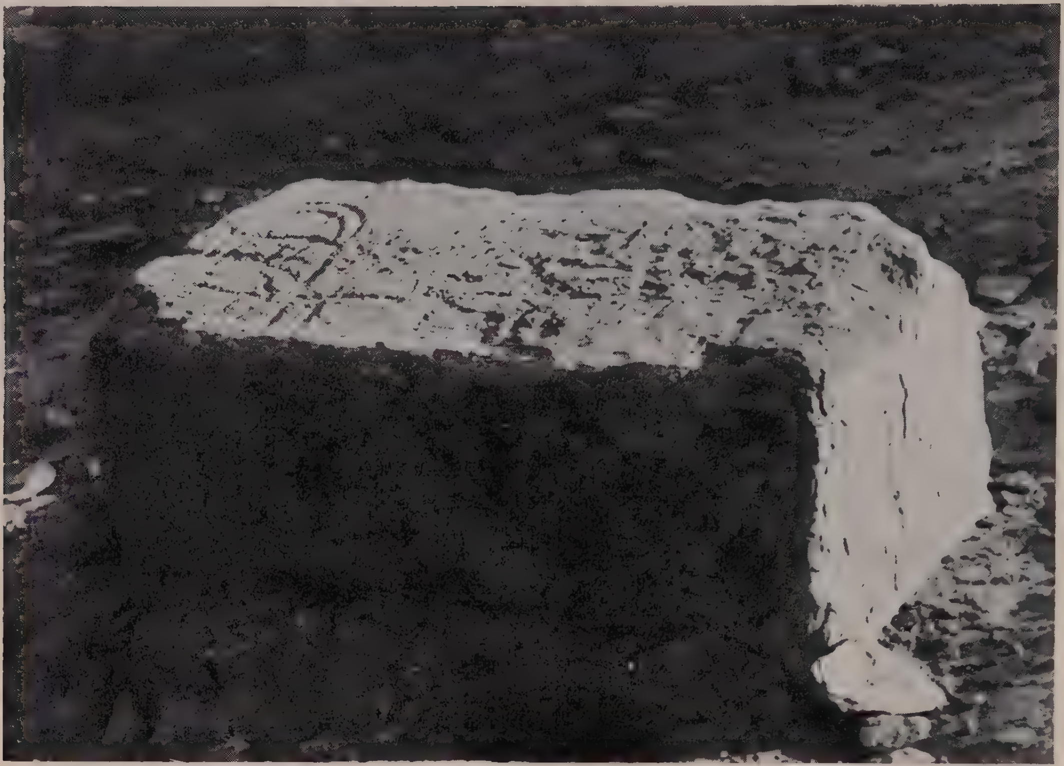
[1] E. Anati, *P.E.Q.* **87** (1955), p. 53.

[2] *Archaeology* **8** (1955), p. 33.

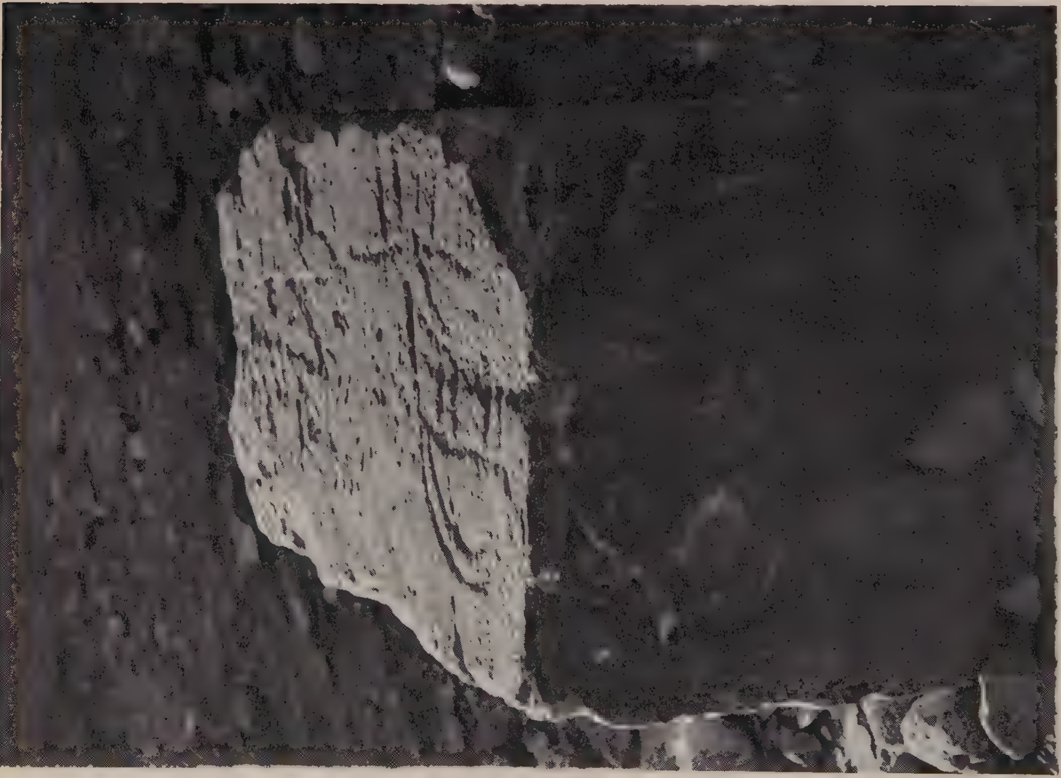
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

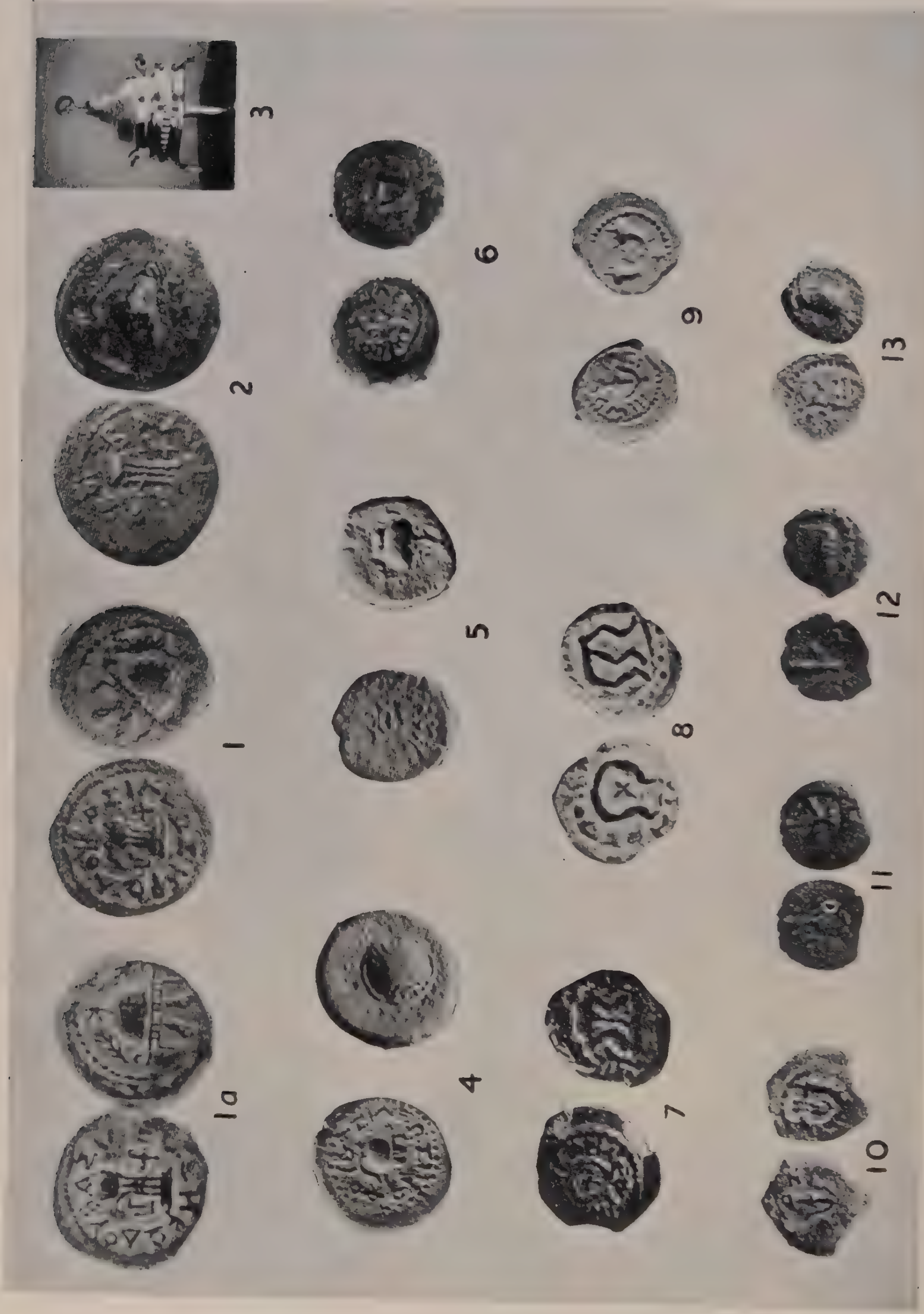
[5] Mentioned in an inscription in the Urn Tomb; cf. Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* (1904), Vol. 1, p. 393.



A. Engravings on building block.



B. Engravings on building block


1a
1
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Coins of Herod the Great.
(*See key on p.* 121)

THE SYMBOLS ON THE COINAGE OF HEROD THE GREAT AND THEIR MEANINGS[1]

By JOSEF MEYSHAN (MESTSCHANSKI)

The meaning of the symbols on the ancient Jewish coins has not yet been satisfactorily explained in many cases. A case in point are the coins of Herod the Great which have been explained by some scholars as neutral signs[2] and by others as pagan symbols[3].

Narkiss[4] states explicitly that they prove Herod's adoration of Apollo. The author does not adhere to this school of thought and is of the opinion that these symbols are partly connected with the Jewish religious cult as performed in the Temple and partly with symbols which were prevailing in the realm of Hellenistic culture without being idolatry symbols, as for instance maritime symbols, symbols of fertility, etc., which were well-known to the inhabitants of Palestine at the later period of the second Temple. Such symbols were, *e.g.*, helmet, anchor, cornucopia, poppy, etc. We have already met with those symbols in the coins of the Hasmonaeans.

When the sons of Herod the Great—Archelaus and Antipas—and even the Roman procurators avoided hurting Jewish feelings, Herod certainly strove even more to avoid hurting the religious sensibility of the Jewish people at a time when his kingdom was not yet sufficiently established so that he had to win the trust and sympathy of the Jewish population and especially the Pharisees.

We know that Herod adhered to the prescriptions of the Jewish tradition although not in accordance with the formulas and opinions of the Pharisees.

In one of the four coins of Herod bearing the sign LΓ (*i.e.*, Year 3 of the Kingdom of Herod) we find the monogram ⳨ (TP). The symbols on that coin are quite clear (Fig. 4). The obverse[5] shows a helmet in the form of a semicircle with crest and cheek-piece; the reverse a circular shield around a wavy line. With respect to the other three coins the symbols are either not clear or so far not satisfactorily explained.

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[1] This paper was read at the meeting of the Israel Numismatic Society on December 26th, 1957, at Tel Aviv.

[2] M. Levy, *Geschichte der judischen Münzen*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 69–70. A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish coins*, Jerusalem, 1947, p. 18.

[3] E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greek-Roman Period*, New York, 1953, Vol. I, p. 274.

[4] M. Narkiss, *Coins of Palestine—Jewish coins*, Jerusalem, 1936, p. 68 (Hebrew).

[5] It is always the obverse in the coins of Herod the Great which has the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ.

The drawing on the reverse of the large coin with two palm branches above (Fig. 1a) has been explained by most of the scholars including Hill[1] and Madden[2] as a helmet. Rafaeli[3] even explained it as a ship with a bell above.

The drawing on the obverse has been explained as a tripod. Cavedoni[4] is convinced that the above mentioned symbol cannot be a helmet because:

(*a*) A cheek piece is not on the right side.

(*b*) The drawing on the coin is clearly divided into two parts: the upper part shows a star. According to his opinion the drawing represents one of the objects used in the Temple.

Levy[5] confirms Cavedoni's opinion, but both are unable to determine exactly which object is meant.

Watzinger[6] also confirms Cavedoni and sees in the symbol a certain religious object of the Temple cult, called in Greek a *thymiaterion*, with three short feet, a conic lid and a star above.

The author sees in the symbol an object for burning incense in the Temple. We know from Josephus[7] that there were many such objects in the temple and the burning of incense was an important ritual act in the Temple cult.

There is a heating utensil made of copper (Fig. 3) used among the Arabs of our country even nowadays[8] and it seems that it was formerly used for burning incense.

The prototype for this utensil probably was an object for burning incense in the Temple.

This utensil has four short feet and is divided into two parts. The lid has the form of a semicircle with a star above, here together with a crescent moon—the Turkish emblem. Between the two parts passes a stripe with vertical lines, exactly as in the drawing on the coin. Another important and interesting detail might be mentioned: on a coin in the collection of the author, as well as on one in the municipal museum in Haifa, we find in the upper part which has the form of a semicircle the drawing of a plant resembling very much the ivy, which grows wild in the forests of Galilee (Figs. 1a and 2). (Incidentally, the ivy plant is already mentioned in the Mishnah.) On the heating utensil in the above-mentioned drawing we see in the upper part an engraving very similar to the ornament on the coin (Fig. 3).

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[1] G. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Greek coins of Palestine*, London, 1914, p. xcvii.

[2] F. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, Boston, 1881, p. 107.

[3] S. Rafaeli, *Coins of the Jews*, Jerusalem, 1912, p. 97 (Hebrew).

[4] D. Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, Hannover, 1856, Vol. II, p. 27.

[5] M. Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 70 with n. 1.

[6] C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, Leipzig, 1935, p. 24 and note 1.

[7] Flavius Josephus, *Antq.*, VIII, 3.8.

[8] Ceramics used by the Arabs to this day are very similar in shape to ceramics of ancient Israel and later periods.

There is a great resemblance between the design on the coin of Herod the Great and the above-mentioned utensil. The author is convinced that he has given sufficient proof that the symbol on the reverse represents an object for burning incense and not a helmet.

Above the vessel are on both sides two palm branches. In non-Jewish coins the palm branch is a symbol of honour and victory.

According to Romanoff[1] the palm branch on Jewish coins is a ritual symbol of the Temple cult connected with the Hallel, *i.e.*, the prayers of praise and thanks to God. *Midrash Rabba* (*Emor*) explicitly states: " two palm branches for Hallel "[2]. The two palm branches on the upper part of the reverse are a symbol of honour and gratitude to God for the victory over Antigonus Mattathias and for the conquest of Jerusalem.

This supposition is based on an analogy in the books of the Maccabees. After Simon had driven out the enemy from the fortress near Mount Zion it is written: " And he cleansed the fortress of the idols when he came to it on the 23rd day of the second month in the year 121 with prayers of praise and *branches of palms*, with lyres, drums and harps, with songs and melodies, for a great enemy had been annihilated "[3]. In II Maccabees, after the Maccabeans conquered Jerusalem, it is written: " That day the Temple was purified on the 25th of Kislev. Therefore they celebrated with myrtle, ethrog and *palm branches* in their hands the purification of His Temple "[4].

Two ritual symbols of the Temple cult correspond with the drawing in the centre of the obverse which has been explained as a tripod by Madden, Hill and Reifenberg[5]. Narkiss[6] saw it as a symbol of idolatry. Around the drawing is the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟϒ.

On the left side two letters LΓ; on the right side the monogram ⳨ (TP). With regard to the sign L there is a consensus omnium that it means the year.

The drawing in the centre of the coin does not represent a tripod but an altar, *i.e.*, a small altar as used in the Temple for incense. On a coin in the author's collection one sees perfectly that the drawing shows an altar and above an object from which are rising three conic figures, like three tongues (Fig. 1). Another important detail is that the tripod has no base beneath, but three feet standing directly on the floor or the ground; hence the term tripod. In the drawing on the other hand we see clearly that it has a flat base standing on the floor. Ackermann[7] and Cavedoni[8] saw in the above-mentioned symbol an altar.

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[1] P. Romanoff, *Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins*, Philadelphia, 1944, p. 19.

[2] Quoted by P. Romanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 19 note 70.

[3] I Maccabees, xiii, 51.

[4] II Maccabees, x, 5, 7.

[5] F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[6] M. Narkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[7] Quoted by F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 5.

[8] D. Cavedoni, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52.

It is the author's opinion that the drawing represents one of the altars in the Temple. There was, according to Josephus[1], a small altar in the Temple beside the great one. Fire was transferred in special containers from the great altar to the small one. It is known to us from the Bible that at least two altars were used in the Temple:

> (*a*) The great altar made of copper had half the height of its width. " And he made a copper altar 20 cubits long, 20 cubits wide and 10 cubits high "[2].
>
> (*b*) The incense altar (the inner altar) in front of the curtain before the entrance to the inner sanctum (Exodus xxx, 6; xl, 26). It resembled the copper altar (the outer altar) in its general structure. Both were square and both had four horns at their corners, but they differed in two principal points:
>
> > (1) The incense altar was much smaller and had the form of a square pillar covered by a *tablet* at the top.
> >
> > (2) It was not intended for burnt-offering and sacrifice but only for the burning of incense[3].

The relation between height and width in the little altar was 2 : 1. " Make an incense altar of acacia wood; it shall be square, one cubit long and one cubit wide. Its height shall be two cubits wherefrom its horns "[4].

In one of Herod's coins (Fig. 1) the measurement of the altar is 8 mm. in height and 4 mm. in width. In another one which is a little bigger (Fig. 2) the altar is a little higher—12 mm.—and the width is 6 mm.—*i.e.*, the relation between height and width is 2 : 1 exactly as described with regard to the incense altar in Exodus xxx, 1f.

The engraver of the coin strictly adhered to the prescribed measurements of the Temple altar. We conclude, therefore, that the above-mentioned symbol is not a symbol of idolatry but a ritual symbol of the Temple cult.

With regard to the monogram ⳨ (two Greek letters, T and P) the solution is still being disputed. Raoul-Rochette[5] and Cavedoni[6] saw in it the *crux ansata*—a life-symbol of the ancient Egyptians. A comparison of the symbol on the coin with the *crux ansata* shows clearly that there is very little similarity between them. Most scholars are of the opinion that the monogram TP is an abbreviation. But they do not agree with regard to the *explanation of the letters*.

De Saulcy[7] explains it as an abbreviation of the Greek word *τρίχαλκον* or *τριάς*, which means three, and therein he sees the denomination of the coins. His opinion was accepted by Levy[1] and Madden[2]; but there are two pertinent points against this theory:

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[1] *Antq.* VIII, 3, 8.

[2] II Chronicles, iv, 4.

[3] *Views of the Biblical World*, ed. M. Avi-Yonah and A. Malamat, Jerusalem, 1958. Vol. I, p. 169.

[4] Exodus xxx, 1–3.

[5] Quoted by F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 14.

[6] D. Cavedoni, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50; Vol. II, p. 27.

[7] Quoted by F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 15.

(*a*) The ancient Palestinian coins before and after the period of Herod, except the coins of the first revolt, and (as it seems to the author) all the Mediterranean coins, had no denomination marks.

(*b*) The above-mentioned sign cannot be a denomination because, as Hill[3] justly remarks, the same sign also appears on three other coins of the Year 3, which differ considerably in size and weight.

Baruch Kanael[4] returned to this question five years ago and expressed the opinion that the letters are an abbreviation of the Greek words *τρίτῳ ἔτει*, *i.e.*, "in the *third* year".

But why should Herod twice stress on his coins the year 3? Every sign on a coin has its own meaning and there is no similar precedent in Palestinian and Mediterranean numismatics, although dates are very often mentioned in the coins.

In the Mediterranean coins including Palestine in the Roman and Seleucid period monograms were often known, which represent the mint, the mintmaster or the engraver. A first step in this direction was made by G. V. Hinkin[5] who thought that the lettering ⳨ (TP) was an abbreviation of the name Τιγράνης, the quasi-mintmaster of Herod. This name is not known to us from any other source and only mentioned as one of many names of members of Herod's family[6]. Narkiss[7] thought that the monogram ⳨ (TP) was the sign of a mint. He suggests to consider this monogram as an abbreviation for a country called Trachonitis which was given to Herod by Augustus in the third year of Herod's reign. All the coins minted there have the signs TP and LΓ. LΓ means year three while TP is the sign of the mint Trachonitis. Reifenberg[8] too accepted the opinion of Narkiss. Although at first sight this explanation seems plausible, further study of the historical material on which Narkiss bases his conviction shows that these arguments are not supported by facts from the historical and numismatic points of view.

Narkiss bases his opinion on two facts:

(*a*) That Herod was enthroned by Augustus in 31 B.C. for the second time as King of Judaea and reckons his kingship officially from this year on.

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[1] M. Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 71, n. 1.

[2] F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[3] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi.

[4] B. Kanael, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, 1952, Vol. XLII, No. 3, pp. 261–4.

[5] J. Hunkin, quoted by M. Narkiss, *Bul. of the Jew. Palest. Explor. Soc.*, 1934, p. 9, n. 10.

[6] M. Narkiss, *Bul. of the Jew. Palest. Explor. Soc.*, 1934, p. 9 (Hebrew).

[7] M. Narkiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–14.

[8] A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

(*b*) Herod received Trachonitis from Augustus in the year 28 B.C. after the first actiade.

Against this assertion it must be said that:

(*a*) Herod received Trachonitis not in 28 B.C. but in 23/4, *i.e.*, eight years after he was confirmed for the second time as King by Augustus. According to Josephus[1] Trachonitis was given to Herod after *the end of the first actiade*, which according to Schürer[2] ended in 24 B.C. It results therefrom that the country Trachonitis was given to Herod in 23/24 B.C.

(*b*) Kanael[3] gives another proof for this date in the fact that the delivery of Trachonitis to Herod has been mentioned by Josephus *after* Herod had sent help to Aelius Gallus in his war against the Sabaeans in the year 24/25 B.C. and *before* the great general Agrippa was sent to the East by Augustus in 22 B.C.

The sign LΓ—year 3—means, according to Narkiss, the third year of Herod's kingship which started in his opinion in the year 31 B.C., when Augustus enthroned him for the second time. Kanael justly opposes this opinion as a king will always reckon his reign from the time of his official coronation. It is not in the nature of any ruler to shorten the official term of his reign.

Kanael rightly says that coins always express a situation *de jure* and not *de facto*[4].

Herod received the title King of Judaea from the Roman senate in the year 40 B.C. According to Josephus[5] Herod defeated Antigonus-Mattathias and conquered Jerusalem in the 3rd year of his reign, *i.e.*, in the year 37 B.C., as that was the year of the fall of Jerusalem.

From the numismatic point of view, too, the monogram TP cannot be the sign of the mint of Trachonitis, as Trachonitis is the name of a country and not that of a town. It was always the name of the town where the coin was minted which was marked on the Mediterranean coins and no town called Trachonitis is known to us.

There is no doubt that the monogram ⳨ (TP) is the sign of the mint or the mintmaster. The author inclines to the first supposition.

The war of Herod against Antigonus-Mattathias was very hard and lasted three years. Josephus[6] points out that Herod had to mobilize all his material resources to cover the expenses of this large enterprise; and in order to pay his soldiers, who were mostly foreign mercenaries, he needed currency similar in size and weight to the Roman coins. At the disposition of Herod was neither a mint nor the necessary tools or craftsmen. Jerusalem had suffered severely from a long siege and the destruction following in its wake. It may be presumed that the mint of Jerusalem had been destroyed either by hostile action or by the defenders themselves who would not let it fall into the hands of Herod. By the way, the mint of Jerusalem was not operating at a high level at that period if we consider the coins of Antigonus-Mattathias which were not so good in respect of fabric and copper content[1].

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[1] *Bel. Jud.* I, 20, 4.

[2] E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig, 1901, Vol. I, p. 369 and n. 10. Cf. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Historical Geography of Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1949, p. 47 (Hebrew).

[3] B. Kanael, *op. cit.*, p. 263, n. ii.

[4] B. Kanael, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

[5] *Antq.* XIV, 16, 4; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 358, n. ii; Kanael, *op. cit.*, p. 263, n. 13.

[6] *Bel. Jud.* I, 18.4.

One of the towns with a very capable mint which minted coins not only for its own country but also used to mint for foreign rulers was Tyre, which was then under Roman influence. Relations between Herod and Tyre were extremely good. Tyre aided Herod in his war against Antigonus, and Herod liked the town. He built there a sanctuary, halls, a market with colonnades, etc.[2]. It may be presumed that Herod ordered from the mint of Tyre coins in various denominations[3].

The author supposes that the monogram ⳨ (TP) on the coins of Herod the Great is a mintmark of the town of Tyre and is an abbreviation of the word *Tyrus*[4]. Indeed all the four coins with the monogram TP and year 3 (LΓ) differ with regard to style and fabric from the other coins of Herod. They are better wrought and are similar as regards fabric to the other Roman provincial coins.

From the palaeographic standpoint the letters of the legends are similar to each other. The inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ is around the symbol, beginning always on the left side below and forms a closed circle. On the other hand all Herod's other coins with regard to style and fabric are rather worse. The letters of the same value are different in shape, *e.g.*, in the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ the letter between Ε and Σ has the shape of omicron, or omega, or upsilon. The letter omega is often upside down. The inscription is rather incomplete, sometimes blundered, and in some cases extremely so.

Every coin of Herod, obverse and reverse alike, forms a unity in its meaning. There is always a certain conformity between the symbols on both sides of the coin. In the Roman coins of the Caesarean period there cannot be full conformity between both sides as on the obverse there is always the image of the Caesar. There is, nevertheless, something in the Caesarean coins, which, in the author's opinion, approaches conformity. The author means what is understood in numismatics under the term personification. We already find it in Greek coins and in coins of the Roman Republic, but in the Caesarean period it achieves tremendous dimensions. M. Grant[1] thinks that the purpose of personification is only to glorify the imperial regime.

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[1] A. Reifenberg, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Paläst. Vereins*, 1927, pp. 175ff.

[2] *Bel. Jud.* I, 21, 11.

[3] Tyre was the most important mint for Judaea, cf. E. Bickermann, *Der Gott der Makkabäer*, Berlin, 1937, p. 116, n. 2.

[4] It is known that the mint-marks of the Tyrian mint are monograms combined of two or three letters, TY or TYP (*cf.* Hill, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Greek Coins*, *Phoenicia*, London, 1910, p. cxxxi). In comparison with the above, the author suggests that the monogram TP is a combination of two Greek letters of the word Tyre. It may be observed on the early mint marks of Ptolemais-Akko that the letters for the monograms were sometimes not given in sequence but chosen arbitrarily, yielding combinations like ΠΟ, instead of ΠΤ or ΠΤΟ (cf. M. Narkiss, *Coins of Palestine*, *The Coinage of Gentiles*, Jerusalem, 1938, Vol. II, Table of Signs, Nos. 69, 73, 79).

Conformity between the symbols on the obverse and reverse is still more marked in the coins of the first and the second revolt of the years, as for instance: vine leaf and amphora[2]; chalice and pomegranates, symbols of fertility[3]; Ethrog and Lulab, symbols of Jewish religious cult with front of Temple[4], etc.

We find a similar conformity in the coins of Herod, among them the large one which has been explicitly described by the author.

We see on the obverse the incense altar and on the reverse an object for burning incense and two palm branches (Fig. 1). All are attributes of the Temple rites, all are symbols of honour and praise to God on Herod's part for the victory over Antigonus-Mattathias and the conquest of Jerusalem.

We also see conformity between the symbols on the second coin of Herod with the date LΓ and the monogram TP; on the obverse a helmet and on the reverse a shield (Fig. 4). Both are war symbols. On the third coin (Fig. 5) with the date LΓ and the monogram TP we see co-ordination between the two sides of the coin; on the obverse a caduceus and on the reverse a poppy head on a long stalk between two leaves (and not a pomegranate as described by Rogers[5], Reifenberg[6], Romanoff[7]).

On one of the coins in good condition we see perfectly well that the drawing represents a poppy head on a long and straight stalk. A pomegranate has a thin and short stalk and the crown is exceedingly small, whereas on the poppy it is big and wide. Hill was the first who described the symbol correctly, *i.e.*, poppy head[8]. Poppy, like pomegranate, is a symbol for the fertility of the land. Caduceus is a symbol of happiness and fertility of the land which often appears on Greek and Roman coins. The two above-mentioned symbols are Hellenistic symbols of happiness and fertility.

On the fourth and last coin (Fig. 6) with the date LΓ and the monogram TP the obverse shows aphlaston with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ.

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[1] M. Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, London, 1954, p. 155.

[2] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–5; A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 58–59.

[3] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–271; A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[4] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 284–287; A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[5] E. Rogers, *A Handy Guide to Jewish Coins*, London, 1914, p. 30.

[6] A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[7] P. Romanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[8] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 221, pl. XXIV, 2, 3.

On the reverse is a palm branch with two ornaments which have not been explained up till now[1]. Aphlaston is an ornament at the edge of a ship similar to the wing of a bird. This symbol permanently appears in the coins of Askalon from the period of Augustus to the Geta[2] period as a sign of the town of Askalon.

Josephus[3] tells us about the special relation of Herod to Askalon. He erected there some public buildings, *e.g.*, a bathhouse, a market with colonnades and a large palace for himself. Schürer[4] quotes the opinion of Justin Martyr who lived in the 2nd century A.D. that Herod was born in Askalon. Justin Martyr says in his book *Dialogue with Tryphon:* "Herod is an Askalonian —as the Jews at that time used to say ". Schürer himself is inclined to accept this supposition. It may be presumed that Herod wanted to emphasize his birthplace by putting its symbol on his coin.

The author could identify the two ornaments which had not been clear as yet from a coin in the municipal museum in Haifa, as two short palm branches which hang down from the palm branch in the centre of the coin. As has already been mentioned, the palm branch is a symbol of honour and praise. So, we have again a conformity between the two symbols; aphlaston the symbol of the town Askalon and on the other side a palm branch, the symbol of honour—honour and praise to the birthplace of Herod.

Among the other coins of Herod the Great there is one coin (Fig. 7) whose obverse shows the drawing of a wreath and within two lines in the form of a cross or the Greek letter Chi = X. The legend around it reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. The reverse shows a tripod (Fig. 7) between two palm branches. The symbol on the reverse, the tripod, is clear. It is one of the Temple objects. On the other hand, there is no explanation for the two lines in the form of a cross or an X within the wreath[5]. When the author examined the above-mentioned coin, he remembered having seen similar lines on stone boxes—ossuaries found by excavation of a tomb led by Prof. Sukenik in 1945 at a place about two miles from the Jerusalem railway station in the direction of Bethlehem. These ossuaries were of the time of the end of the Second Temple. In the tomb was found a coin of King Agrippa I with the date LS, *i.e.*, the year 6 = A.D. 41/42. On the ossuary were lines on each side drawn in the form of a cross, altogether four crosses. Prof. Sukenik[6] thought that they were signs of a Jewish Christian sect or of a Christian sect in its beginnings. Clermont-Ganneau,[7] who found an ossuary with lines in the form of a cross, was of the opinion that a cross as a sign of Christianity does not appear until the fourth century. In another stone box with a Greek inscription and the name *Nikanor* were also found two lines in the form of a cross[1]. Goodenough[2] thinks that the crosses are signs of protection against evil spirits. He mentions the fact, that crosses were quite usual in drawings on amulets among the Jews and to this day they are found in Kabbalistic books and on amulets of oriental Jews. He agrees with Dinkler[3] that the Jews used the cross as a sign of protection in an eschatological sense. Goodenough further points to the following passage of the Babylonian Talmud in the tractate *Divorcement:* " On the crown of annointed kings and for priests they drew a sign in the form of the letter Chi. Rabbi Menashe says: The Greek letter Chi was meant ". The Greek letter Chi has two crossed lines in the form X[4].

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[1] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, Supra 4, p. xcvii; A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 43, No. 29.

[2] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

[3] *Bel. Jud.* I. 21. 11.

[4] E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 292, n. 3.

[5] Only Kanael suggests the possibility that the cross is a schematic form of the monogram TP (*op. cit.*, p. 261, n. 3).

[6] E. Sukenik, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, 1947, Vol. LI, pp. 351–65.

[7] Quoted by E. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

The author supposes that the cross of two lines in form of + or X on the above-mentioned coin is a sign of protection against the evil eye.

As in the previously mentioned coins, we find here again conformity between both sides of the coin; on the reverse the tripod, the Temple object, and the two palm branches, a symbol of honour and praise; and on the obverse a magic sign in the form of a cross as protection against evil spirits, here for Herod himself with his title and name ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ.

Three other coins of Herod the Great (Figs. 9, 11, 12) bear clearly maritime symbols, *i.e.*, anchor and battleship. The maritime symbols generally appear on the coins as a sign of rulership over the coasts of the land.

In the ancient Jewish numismatics the anchor appears for the first time on the coins of Alexander Jannaeus[5] who ruled over some ports like Gaza and Jaffa.

In a long line of coins of Palestinian towns which were not seaports there never appears a maritime symbol[6]. Herod the Great received in the year 30 B.C. from Augustus four towns on the Mediterranean coast, viz., Gaza, Anthedon, Jaffa and Strato's Tower, where he later built the great town of Caesarea[7].

It is to be presumed that in honour of this great event Herod issued a coin with an anchor on the obverse and a cornucopia on the reverse (Fig. 9). The coin which has on the obverse only the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔ (Fig. 11) and an anchor on the reverse was probably issued in honour of the foundation of Caesarea and its port Sebastia[1].

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[1] E. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131 and Fig. 229.

[2] E. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[3] Quoted by E. Goodenough, p. 132 and n. 192.

[4] E. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 192.

[5] G. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 198, 207; A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[6] Apart from the maritime cities of Palestine, an anchor appears only on one coin of Tiberias (cf. G. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 7, Nos. 18–22). Tiberias however was and is situated on the western shores of the lake of Gennesareth (Galilee) and possessed an important harbour for fishery and local trade.

[7] E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

The third coin with maritime symbols—on one side an anchor with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛ ΗΡΩΔ and on the other side a battleship with rudders (Fig. 12)—symbolizes his ownership of a fleet. Josephus[2] tells us that Herod built a battle fleet and came with it to the aid of the famous general Agrippa, the viceregent of Augustus Caesar in the eastern provinces, in an expedition against the Bosporan Kingdom of the Crimea[3].

The two above-mentioned coins are similar with regard to style and fabric.

In all three coins we find a certain conformity between both sides of the coin, *i.e.*, anchor on the obverse and cornucopiae with caduceus on the reverse (Fig. 9). Sovereignty over seaports brings happiness and wealth.

An anchor on one side and a battleship on the other one certainly conform with each other (Fig. 12).

The third coin, where there is on the obverse only the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔ and on the reverse an anchor (Fig. 11), symbolizes Herod's possession of the maritime towns and harbours.

On the coin that has an anchor on one side and two cornucopiae with a caduceus between them on the other side the Greek letter N (Nu) appears sometimes above the caduceus (Fig. 10). No satisfactory explanation has so far been given for the letter N[4]. Kindler[5] suggests that this letter N represents the first letter of the name Nikolaus—*i.e.*, Nicolaus of Damascus, the well-known writer, philosopher and historian at the end of the first century B.C., the most faithful friend of King Herod and one of his principal advisers in internal and external affairs. Kindler wants to see therein a mark of honour and affection on the part of Herod towards his great friend and adviser. It may be even that the letter N is an initial of Nicolaus of Damascus as mintmaster, provided he was once responsible for the mint or for finances in general. A not improbable supposition considering that Nicolaus was one of the most central personalities at the court of Herod. There is a precedent for such a supposition. On the Hasmonaean coins appears sometimes a Greek letter or a monogram of two letters which is thought to be the initial of the mintmaster[6].

On one type of the long line of coins of Herod the Great there is on the reverse the figure of an eagle (Fig. 13), which is a remarkable offence against the Jewish law, " You shall not make an image ". If we presume that this coin was minted by Herod in the later period of his life, at the height of his conflict with the Pharisees or when the golden eagle which Herod had put above the great gate of the Temple was thrown down[1], then under these circumstances Herod would not have had any compunction about putting an eagle on his coin, which was then a sign of autocracy. We find here again conformity between both sides of the coin. The eagle of the reverse symbolizes the state-power of Herod the Great, whose name and title occurs on the obverse and who was a real autocrat in his country.

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[1] *Antq.* XV. 9.6.

[2] *Antq.* XVI. 2.2.

[3] A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, Oxford, 1938, p. 63.

[4] Except the suggestion of Narkiss that the above mentioned sign is a monogram AN of the name Antonius which is unacceptable, since there is no monogram drawn on the coin, but clearly only one letter N, cf. M. Narkiss, *op. cit.*, p. ii, n. 13.

[5] A. Kindler, *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1953, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 241, n. 7.

[6] H. Stein, *Numism. Review*, New York, 1943, pp. 19–21.

Conclusion

(*a*) The symbols on the coins of Herod the Great are not symbols of idolatry, but partly symbols of Temple rites and partly symbols of maritime sovereignty, army, happiness and fertility of the soil.

(*b*) In the ancient Jewish coinage is always found a certain conformity between the symbols on the obverse and the reverse of the coin. Those symbols have their special significance and were put on the coins in order to stress and enhance the ideas which they symbolize.

[1] An action which caused tremendous uproar against Herod from the Pharisees, cf. *Antq*. XVII. 6.3.

Key to Plate[1]

(Coins of Herod the Great)

No.			
1a	Obv.	Incense altar.	Municipal Museum, Haifa, Collection.
	Rev.	Thymiaterion with a star between two palm-branches.	
1	Obv.	Altar, as above No. 1a.	Author's Collection.
	Rev.	Thymiaterion as above No. 1a.	
2	Obv.	Altar as above No. 1.	Author's Collection.
	Rev.	Thymiaterion as above No. 1.	
3		A contemporary Arab heating utensil.	
4	Obv.	Helmet with crest and one cheek piece.	Hebrew University Collection, Jerusalem.
	Rev.	Circular Shield, around a wavy line.	
5	Obv.	Winged caduceus.	Hebrew University Collection, Jerusalem.
	Rev.	Poppy-head on stalk.	
6	Obv.	Aphlaston.	Municipal Museum, Haifa, Collection.
	Rev.	Palm-branch.	
7	Obv.	Within a wreath a cross.	American Numismatic Society Collection.
	Rev.	Tripod between two palm-branches.	
8	Obv.	Within a wreath two crossed lines, like a letter X.	American Numismatic Society Collection.
	Rev.	Tripod as No. 7.	
9	Obv.	Anchor.	Hebrew University Collection, Jerusalem.
	Rev.	Double cornucopiae with caduceus between the horns.	
10	Obv.	Anchor.	Museum Haaretz Collection, Tel Aviv.
	Rev.	As No. 9, but above the caduceus a letter N.	
11	Obv.	Within border of dots, inscription.	Author's Collection.
	Rev.	Anchor within a Wreath.	
12	Obv.	Anchor.	Author's Collection.
	Rev.	War galley with oars.	
13	Obv.	Cornucopiae.	Museum Haaretz Collection, Tel Aviv.
	Rev.	Eagle, standing to right.	

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[1] On the obverse there is always the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ; on the reverse there is no inscription. On the coins Nos. 1, 1a, 2, 4, 5 the inscription is always complete; on the coins Nos. 7–13 it is rather incomplete.

The author wishes to express to the following his thanks for their kindness in placing the photographs of the coins at his disposal: American Numismatic Society, Archaeological Department of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Municipal Museum, Haifa, and Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv.

DID VESPASIAN CAPTURE QUMRÂN?

By Cecil Roth

In the decade since the Dead Sea scrolls were discovered, a new historical mythology has grown up, consisting of dogmatic statements in the light of which new hypotheses and theories are not infrequently condemned out of hand. One of these I have recently examined: that in the course of the War against the Romans in 66–73 the Essenes abandoned their pacifist principles and went over as a body to the Zealots, this explaining (it is said) the supremely warlike nature of so much of the Qumrân literature. In fact, the only authority for this sweeping statement is the fact that according to Josephus one person whom he calls an Essene (using however a term of reference which he does not use in other cases) held at this time a command in the insurgent (though not as a matter of fact the Zealot) forces.[1] Here I wish to examine one other statement, with direct bearing on Palestinian history in the first century. It is now generally believed, and repeated constantly, that, in Père de Vaux's words,[2] " according to Josephus in June 68, troops of the Tenth Roman Legion came from Cæsarea in Palestine down the Jordan Valley under the command of Vespasian. They conquered Jericho and came to the shore of the Dead Sea ". From this it is concluded that, coins (or a coin) bearing the mark of the Tenth Legion having been discovered in the ruins at Qumrân, " it is evident that Khirbet Qumrân was captured by the Tenth Legion in June 68, and that a military post was left on the spot ".[3] Hence, no writing comprised in the scrolls can possibly refer to any event later than the summer of 68. " Ce faisceau de documents ne permet pas aucun doute ", as the distinguished archæologist emphatically observes elsewhere.[4] And what he says has naturally been accepted by other scholars and writers, who like him have used this categorical statement to dispose of any theory which ostensibly seems to conflict with this sequence of events.[5] This detail, trivial in itself, has thus become crucial for determining the period and background of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Here, we will deal only with historical fact.

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[1] Cf. my article, " Were the Qumrân Sect Essenes? " in *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1959 (in which I devote a few lines also to the issue discussed in the present article).

[2] Cf. his statement, in criticism of the present writer, in *The Listener*, June 19, 1958, resuming the data assembled in previous articles.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Revue Biblique*, **61** (1954), 232–3.

[5] Cf. J. T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda*, p. 46; J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 86; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Évidences*, December, 1957; *The Times*, May 9, 1955; H. H. Rowley, in *Eissfeldt Festschrift*, 1958, pp. 189–90; and other recent writings and critical reviews too numerous to mention.

In the first place we must consider the record and function of the Tenth Legion in the campaigns of 67–8. Vespasian had under his command in Palestine, besides some auxiliary troops, three legions—the first and the tenth, which had marched from Syria; and the fifteenth, which Titus had brought from Egypt (Josephus, *B.J.* iii, 65). We are now concerned only with the tenth, the notorious Legio Decima Fretensis. It was under the immediate command of Trajan, the father of the future Emperor, who led it in the Galilæan campaign of 67, in which however, it does not seem to have distinguished itself particularly (*ibid.*, 233–4, 289–306, 458, 485).

After the capture of Jotapata in the summer of 67, and the surrender of Josephus, the general in command of the insurgent forces in Galilee, Vespasian apparently considered that the back of resistance in the north of the country had been broken. He therefore withdrew the bulk of his forces, including the Tenth and First Legions, to recuperate in Cæsarea, but so as not to overstrain the resources of that place left the Fifteenth in Scythopolis (*ibid.*, 409–413). It was his intention to winter here, and to march on Jerusalem early in the following year. However, disaffection in Tiberias and the revolt of Tarichææ showed that fighting was still necessary in order to secure his rear. He therefore reassembled his forces. Tarichææ was captured in September, and Gamala in November. He then returned to winter at Cæsarea, as he had intended. It was, however, natural for him to modify his previous dispositions, now giving the fifteenth legion the opportunity of relaxing in the luxurious seaport instead of the tenth, which was left behind, as we are specifically told, at Scythopolis (*ibid.*, iv, 87)[1]—a strategic position which, since it commanded the whole of northern Palestine, is unlikely to have been evacuated until order was restored in the country.

Early in the following spring—certainly not later than March, 68—Vespasian moved south from Cæsarea down the coastal plain, which he systematically laid waste, establishing the fifth legion in a fortified camp at Emmaus to maintain order[1]. He later subdued Idumæa, returned to Emmaus, and then wheeled north-eastwards into the heart of the country, by-passing Jerusalem. After marching through Samaria and Neapolis (the modern Nablus) he followed the line of the still-traceable Roman military road south-east to Corea or Kuryat (Tell el-Mazar?) in the Jordan valley, where he arrived on the second day of the month Dæsius (about June 19): on the following day he occupied Jericho (*ibid.*, 449–50). He had left Cæsarea some three months earlier; and he had come down the Jordan valley only for a single day's march, of about twenty miles. Hence the statement, so often repeated of late, that ' he came with his troops from Cæsarea down the Jordan Valley ' gives an erroneous and wholly misleading impression of his movements.

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[1] That Josephus states in *B.J.* iii, 412, that immediately after the fall of Jotapata Vespasian established his troops in winter quarters, while later (*ibid.*, 445 ff.) he gives an account of the stiff fighting in the autumn campaign, seems to suggest that he was justified in his claim that he wrote on the basis of the official records, his statement reflecting the commander-in-chief's original intention. The emendation proposed by F. M. Cross (*The Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 46 *n.*) is clearly unnecessary; it would have been natural for Vespasian to give all his legions in turn the opportunity to enjoy the luxuries of Cæsarea. Incidentally, Dr. Cross (*ibid.*) gives the authority of Josephus (*B.J.* iii, 310) for stating that the fifth legion under the command of Cerealis stayed in Cæsarea. The passage in question merely states that Cerealis was in charge of the operations against Samaria. The point is of no significance in the present connection, but if important conclusions are based on trivial details, one must insist on accuracy.

What forces he had with him at this time we are not told specifically, but obviously they belonged to his main army—i.e. the fifth and fifteenth legions: possibly only the former, as it would have been natural for him to give the fifteenth, which had been with him during the gruelling campaign in the South, the opportunity to recuperate. It would thus have been left in the camp at Emmaus to replace the fifth legion, by now refreshed and ready to take part in the new offensive that was about to open. In any case, it is clear from Josephus that, of the three legions under Vespasian's command, only the Tenth was, without any doubt whatsoever, *not* engaged in the operations in the summer of 68 which resulted in the occupation of Jericho.

" They [i.e. Vespasian and his forces] conquered Jericho and came to the shore of the Dead Sea ", we are further informed, also on the authority of Josephus. Even if we leave out the reference to the tenth legion, this statement is based not, as is implied, on established fact, but on not wholly justifiable inference. Josephus tells us only that Vespasian occupied Jericho with his troops. Later (*B.J.* iv, 452 ff.) he gives a lengthy description of Jericho and then of the Dead Sea, and he describes the experiment carried out there by Vespasian " when he came to explore the lake " (*ibid.*, 477). It may reasonably be inferred that it was on this occasion, but there is no definite statement on Josephus's part that it was so: nor (and this is more important) is there any positive evidence that the military operations extended beyond Jericho.

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[1] Josephus interrupts his account of the spring campaign in the south with a description of the operations against Gadara, which seems to disturb both the chronological and the geographical sequence: to such an extent indeed that the attempt has been made to identify the place in question with some other city of a similar name. A careful reading of the text suggests, however, a perfectly consistent picture. On the first approach of spring Vespasian left Cæsarea, where he had spent the winter, and marched his troops southwards down the coastal plain to Antipatris (*B.J.* iv, 443). It must have been while he was hereabouts that he received the news that the leading citizens of Gadara were prepared to capitulate. It would have been superfluous to march the two legions under him back for what promised to be a bloodless campaign. He therefore hastened to the area in question with his immediate following, picking up at Scythopolis, where the tenth legion was encamped, whatever forces were needed for the operation. After his unopposed occupation of Gadara at the end of March (*ibid.*, iv, 413) he despatched a punitive force to pursue the fugitives and returned *via* Cæsarea (*ibid.*, 419) to rejoin his two legions at or near Antipatris.

The picture seems clear enough[1]. The future Emperor had, of course, heard of the remarkable nature of the Dead Sea, then considered one of the wonders of the world, and took advantage of his presence in the vicinity to ride to inspect it. The track from Jericho would bring him after about seven miles to what was later called Rujm el-Bahr, the Pilgrims' station. Here he would have dismounted, spent some time in investigating the natural phenomena, walked on the sultry beach, and no doubt had himself rowed on the sea; it was now that he carried out his experiment of throwing into the water some persons[2] with their hands bound, to see whether or no they would float. Presumably he would have cantered along the coast a little distance; but the point where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea, in the diametrically opposite direction from Qumrân, would obviously have interested him more. In any case, it was stony, arid, shadeless and suffocating in the June heat, and there was nothing to tempt him to ride mile after mile on the shore towards this place unless he had some special reason for doing so. It would have been most natural for him to return to spend the night in his luxurious quarters in the Herodian palace at Jericho. There is nothing to show that he was accompanied to the Dead Sea by a force sufficient to carry out serious military operations, such as the occupation of Qumrân would have necessitated: for so far as our evidence goes, it was merely a pleasure-expedition. Nor was there a track suitable for military movement along the Dead Sea coast southwards, from Rujm el-Bahr. If an expedition was to be sent against Qumrân, it would have been despatched from Jericho, about nine miles distant, though even hence there was no direct road. No doubt Vespasian could have captured Qumrân had he so desired: but there is no evidence of this desire—and in any case it is most unlikely that he would have marched his troops thither along the Dead Sea coast, as we are told so confidently that he did[3]. Most probably he had an escort when he went to " explore the lake ". It is natural to think of a small cavalry detachment: but in any case it would of course have been provided by the troops under his immediate command who had come to this area with him—i.e. probably by the fifth legion, possibly by the fifteenth, but certainly not by the tenth.

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[1] I am obliged to Mr. R. W. Hamilton, of the Ashmolean Museum, for advising me on matters of topographical detail, and to Professor R. Syme for guidance on points of Roman military organization.

[2] Very likely " prisoners ", as is usually stated, but this is not certain.

[3] It is evident that Vespasian remained in Jericho—not a pleasant place in midsummer—for only a short time. He occupied it as we have seen on 3rd Daesius (= June 20), but had already returned to Cæsarea and begun his preparations for marching on Jerusalem when he received the news of the death of Nero (*B.J.* iv, 491). This event had taken place on June 9, and the report can hardly have reached Palestine much later than the end of the month.

With Josephus, we have left the tenth legion at Scythopolis, where it had been stationed after the close of the second phase of the Galilaean campaign in the autumn of 67. The next we hear of it specifically is that in the spring of 70 it marched to join Titus under the walls of Jerusalem 'by way of Jericho' (Josephus reiterates the phrase: *B.J.*, v. 42, 69). Obviously therefore it was not then stationed at or in the neighbourhood of Jericho. Thus it was now, not in 68, that it marched down the Jordan Valley. However, Qumrân lay well off its line of march, and this was not the time to carry out any subsidiary military operation.

There is, to be sure, another possibility for which we have slight (though only slight) evidence, but it modifies only trivially the general picture presented above. Josephus tells us (*B.J.* iv, 419–439) that after the fall of Gadara in March 68, Vespasian detached a force of 500 horse and 3,000 foot for mopping-up operations in Transjordan, while he himself and the bulk of his army returned to Cæsarea. This roughly approximates to the strength of a legion, which normally consisted of 4,000 or more heavy infantry with some cavalry. The Transjordan expedition was commanded at the outset by the tribune Placidus, but when it rejoined Vespasian's main forces after his occupation of Jericho it was led by Trajan (*ibid.*, iv, 450) who had commanded the Tenth Legion during the Galilaean campaign (*cf. ibid.*, iii, 289–306). It is arguable that an expedition of approximately legion strength which was led at one stage by the commander of the tenth legion comprised cadres of this unit[1]. Even if this were so, the statement that Vespasian " marched down the Jordan Valley with the tenth legion and occupied Jericho " would not correspond with the historical facts; nor is there the slightest likelihood that the formation which joined Vespasian after he occupied Jericho, however it was composed, accompanied him on his pleasure trip to the Dead Sea.

When Vespasian withdrew from Jericho, after a short stay, he established there an armed camp with a mixed garrison of Romans and auxiliaries to assist in blockading the capital (*B.J.* iv, 486). If the tenth legion had made up the Transjordan Expeditionary Force which rejoined him there, it must have returned to Galilee, and not remained to garrison this area, for when

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[1] F. M. Cross (*The Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 46) states positively that the tenth legion crossed the Jordan under Trajan into Perea, later joining Vespasian at Jericho. This is incorrect: a body of troops which may have included cadres of the tenth legion crossed the Jordan into Perea under Placidus, though it was later commanded by Trajan. I now realize, *pace* my article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* referred to above, that there is no positive evidence that the tenth legion left Scythopolis between 67 and 70.

it joined Titus before Jerusalem later on it came, as we have seen, " by way of Jericho ". We have indeed one piece of evidence to associate it with Qumrân in the much-exploited fact that an undated Ascalon coin bearing its countermark has been found on the site.[1] There is no reason whatsoever why this should not belong to a later period, when the tenth legion constituted the Army of Occupation in southern Palestine, after the suppression of the Revolt.[2] But there is another possibility. It is now common ground that immediately before its capture Qumrân was occupied by a bellicose group of insurgents, to whatever segment of the Jewish population they belonged. To assume that coins found there must necessarily have been deposited by the ultimate captors, and were not booty brought back by the former occupants after some foray, begs the question.[3]

That Jericho remained in Roman hands until the end of the War is not indeed absolutely certain. Vespasian found it in 68 deserted by the inhabitants (*B.J.* iv, 451) and occupied it without meeting resistance, presumably therefore leaving it undamaged. Eusebius on the other hand, although he was familiar with Josephus' writings, informs us (*Onomasticon* 265.13: supported by Jerome, 132: 1) that the Romans took and devasted Jericho at the same time as Jerusalem (i.e. in 70) on account of the disloyalty of the population. This suggests that after the siege of Jerusalem began the Roman garrison of Jericho, now unnecessary, was withdrawn and the city occupied by patriot forces, later being recaptured and laid waste. All this goes to confirm the picture of Zealot control of the northern portion of the Dead Sea area (including the site of Qumrân?) at the end of the period of the Revolt.

It does not indeed appear that the Roman forces operating in Transjordan (whether or no they included the tenth legion) had enjoyed unbroken triumph. Josephus informs us that they conquered this area " as far as

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[1] De Vaux, *ut supra:* the point of evidence is of course repeated by many others.

[2] B. Kanael, in *Eretz-Israel*, v, 164–170, makes it clear, independently, that there is no conclusive numismatic evidence that Qumrân was occupied by the Romans in 68. It is more than ludicrous to suggest that the tenth legion arrived in Jericho, raided Qumrân, deposited a coin bearing its symbol for the information of posterity, and forthwith withdrew to its base.

[3] I venture to repeat here what I have written in my article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* referred to above: " While numismatic evidence provides an irrefutable *terminus ante quem*, it can be applied confidently only in thickly populated urban sites as a fairly exact *terminus ad quem* or *a quo*. In country areas, where currency is scarce and trade non-existent, this guidance is obviously only approximate ".

In the light of what has been said above, the numismatic evidence can be turned topsy-turvy and used to prove the reverse of Père de Vaux's thesis. For since Vespasian's immediate command consisted, as we have seen, of the fifth and fifteenth legions, and since no coin of either of these has been discovered in the ruins at Qumrân, it is evident that the position was not captured by the Roman troops at this time. This reasoning is obviously lunatic, but not more so than much else that has been seriously asserted in these discussions

Machærus" (μέχρι Μαχαιροῦντος), giving it to be understood that they captured also this great fortress, east of the Dead Sea, with its abundant supplies and stores (*B.J.* iv, 439). But shortly after it appears, with Herodium, in the hands of the *sicarii* operating from Masadah,[1] who had already occupied Engedi (*ibid.*, 402, 555): and unless it was subsequently recaptured we must conclude that at this time the Roman forces were repulsed from its walls—a fact which the quisling historian conveniently overlooked. It is interesting incidentally to note that the strategy of the *sicarii* back to the days of Judah the Galilaean was to seize well-provided key-positions and use them as military bases. All these places were of great importance at this period, Engedi and Herodium being the chief cities of administrative units[2], while Machærus is described by Pliny as "formerly the second citadel of Judæa, after Jerusalem".[3] The accepted picture of the *sicarii*, as merely dominating remote fastnesses, is then seen to be incorrect. The faction which held Masadah, Machærus, Herodium and Engedi must in all probability have been in control of the intermediate Qumrân area, but I do not wish to elaborate on this now.

I have my own interpretation of the correct sequence of events in the region at the time of the war of 66–73, but here I do not insist on it. I only wish to establish the fact that the answer to Père de Vaux's triumphant question ("Is it not evident that Khirbet Qumrân was captured by the tenth legion—after marching from Cæsarea with Vespasian down the Jordan Valley—in June 68?") is an emphatic negative. The conclusions which he and others base on the mis-statement of fact automatically lose all validity.

Additional Note

The above was in the press before the appearance of Père de Vaux's article, "Les manuscrits de Qumrân et l'archéologie", in *Revue Biblique* **66** (1959), 87–110, in which he repeats his views regarding the exact date of the capture of Qumrân by the Romans, from a slightly different standpoint. He now bases his conclusions mainly on the fact that the latest coins found in Level II at Qumrân belong to the third year of the First Revolt—*i.e.*, 68, the year of Vespasian's Dead Sea expedition. But this is misleading. As the Jewish Revolt began in the autumn of 66, its third year extended from the autumn of 68 to that of 69. Vespasian's Dead Sea expedition, however, took place in June 68 and he returned immediately to Caesarea. Hence the five coins of the third year found in Level II were struck not less than three months after he left this area, and Qumrân therefore continued to be held by the insurgent Jewish forces *at least* until this time (*i.e.*, until the autumn of 68). Père de Vaux's careful marshalling of fact thus destroys his own hypothesis: not only is there no proof, but, on the basis of these data, there is no possibility that Qumrân was captured by the Romans at the time of Vespasian's Dead Sea expedition, or even immediately after.

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[1] Josephus states that these two places were captured by the "brigands", a term which he reserves at this part of his History for the *sicarii* of Masadah (*B.J.* iv, 504, etc.). G. Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 515, 570, drew the same obvious conclusion, but by a slip substituted Hyrcaneum for Herodium. There is evidence that Machærus was defended at the last by associates of the Masadah *sicarii*: see my *Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 16–17.

[2] Josephus, *B.J.* iii, 55; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*, v, 70, speaks only of Herodium in this connexion.

[3] "*Secunda quondam arx Judææ ab Hierosolymis*" (*Hist. Nat.* v, 72). Pliny's careful use of the past tense in his descriptions of pre-war conditions in Judæa make it obvious that his allusions to the Essenes in the present tense were true of the period in which he was writing, about 77: this in itself is strong evidence that the latter are not identical with the Qumrân sect, whose religious centre near the Dead Sea did not survive the War of 66–73.

[1] It can reasonably, though unconvincingly, be maintained that the years of the revolt were numbered, as Jewish regnal years are said to have been, from the month of Nisan in the spring (cf. Mishnah, *Rosh haShanah*, I.i): in that case, the second year of the Revolt would have been reckoned from the spring of 67, only six months after the re-establishment of independence, and the third would have extended from the spring of 68 to that of 69. In this unlikely case, Père de Vaux would have to postulate that the coins in question were struck at the very beginning of the year in which they are dated and forthwith conveyed to this remote centre and mislaid there—in precisely the same proportion in which these coins are normally found for the entire year !—all within a period of some ten weeks.

NOTE ON A PROTO-CANAANITE INSCRIPTION FROM LACHISH

By YIGAEL YADIN

In *Lachish IV*[1] Diringer deals with all the published Early Canaanite inscriptions found at Lachish, and in his usual scrupulous manner weighs up all that has been and can be said about them.[2] However, on p. 131, Diringer for the first time publishes a tiny fragment bearing an inscription of which neither the reading nor the interpretation, suggested with all due reserve by him, seems to be satisfactory. (See fig. 1.)

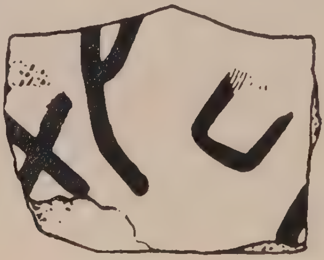

Fig. 1

Reproduced (double size) from *Lachish IV*, Pl. 44: 7, by kind permission of the Trustees of the late Sir Henry S. Wellcome.

This fragment was found in " the casemate fill of Palace A (L.III, Pl.110). It is therefore earlier than the construction of that building in the late tenth or early ninth century ".[3]

On archaeological grounds this sherd should have been dated to the Bronze Age period, say, stratum VI; nevertheless, Diringer's " first and immediate impression " was " that the script itself would warrant a date in the eleventh century."

With much reservation, Diringer suggests reading the inscription as *lʿwt*—a rather meaningless word—which he would, with hesitation, connect with a word similarly spelt in Isaiah i, 4.

[1] *Lachish IV: The Bronze Age*, by Olga Tufnell and others. Oxford University Press, 1958.

[2] pp. 127 ff.

[3] p. 131.

Although it seems that Diringer is right in reading the second and fourth letters as ʿ*ayin* and *taw* respectively, his reading of the third letter is rather dubious. Since it is clear that the top of this letter is incomplete, I would rather take it for the proto-Canaanite *lamed*, which resembles it in general and in the Canaanite inscriptions of Lachish in particular.[1]

If this reading is correct, there is no necessity to take the only stroke which remains of the first letter as part of a *lamed;* it could easily be part of a *beth*. Thus, the word as a whole would seem to be *bʿlt*, *i.e.*, the goddess *Baʿalath*, written in the same manner as in the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions in which it appears several times.[2]

If my suggestion is acceptable, there is no need to take the inscription as " the first extant Early Hebrew inscription preceding the Gezer Calendar by about a century ". It would more likely be another specimen of the proto-Canaanite inscriptions of the 13th century B.C.

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[1] *Cf. Lachish II*, pp. 49–54.

[2] For bibliography see James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, Princeton, 1954, p. 279, No. 270. *Cf.* also the small sherd found at Hazor in the Late Bronze Age II strata, bearing the letters .]*lt*, which could stand either for [']*lt* = '*elath* (as on the " Lachish Ewer ") or [*b*ʿ]*lt* (*Hazor I*, pls. CLX, 2; XCIX, 20; p. 107).

BACK TO THE CAVES

By PAUL WINTER

I. PROPHECY IN THE ṢADOQITE FRAGMENTS?

I missed Dr. Cecil Roth's lecture before the Palestine Exploration Fund in London on November 27, 1957. The more interested was I to learn of Dr. Roth's propositions concerning the historical setting of the sect, or community, that produced the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, from the paper which Dr. Roth wrote for a later issue of the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* under the title " The Jewish Revolt against the Romans (66–73) in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls " (*PEQ* **90**, 1958, pp. 104–121).

The most significant conclusion that would have to be drawn from the acceptance of Dr. Roth's propositions is that they demand a thorough revision of our appreciation of the character of the writings that have been found in the vicinity of Qumrân. So far scholars inclined to regard these writings as being kindred in spirit with earlier known specimens of Jewish *apocalyptic* literature. The importance of Dr. Cecil Roth's findings lies in the fact that from now on they will have to rank with *prophetic* literature.

On pp. 106–107 of his above mentioned article, Dr. Roth states that Judah the Gaulanite fled to Damascus in the year 4 B.C.E. " This was the origin of the Damascus Covenant which they [i.e. *the Zealots*] now entered into " (*loc. cit.*, p. 107). From an earlier lecture of Dr. Cecil Roth, published in *The Listener* of June 27, 1957, we had gathered that it was " not unreasonable to suppose that in the interval [*between the years* 4 *B.C.E. and* 6 *C.E.*] Judah and his followers organised themselves concluding, now in exile, the Damascus Covenant " (*The Listener*, 1957, p. 1040). Although he is far from being explicit as to the dates at which particular documents from amongst the finds in the Judæan Wilderness were composed, it would appear from Dr. Roth's historical presupposition that he places the origin of the so-called *Damascus Document*, otherwise called *Ṣadoqite Fragments*, within the period of " Judah's exile ", that is between 4 B.C.E. and 6 C.E. This leads to certain definite conclusions.

In the Ṣadoqite Fragments, column xx, lines 1 and 14, we have a reference to the death of the Teacher of the Community (the spelling is *moreh hayyaḥid*, which should be corrected to *hayyaḥad*). His " ingathering " (= *death*) is spoken of as having occurred in the past. Commonly, the designation *moreh hayyaḥad* is considered to be an alternative appellation of the *moreh* *haṣṣedeq*, both expressions referring to the same person.[1] As—according to Dr. Cecil Roth—the Teacher of Righteousness made his appearance on the public scene only around the year 66 or 67 C.E., six or seven decades *after* the Damascus Covenant had been entered into by Judah the Gaulanite and his confederates, it appears that we are confronted with unmistakable proof of the *prophetic* insight of the writer of the Ṣadoqite Fragments.

Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls!

II. The Moreh Haṣṣedeq in the Toledoth Yeshu?

In the discussion concerning the historical identity and the fate of the person who is designated in the Dead Sea Scrolls by the title *moreh haṣṣedeq* ("Righteous Teacher" or "Teacher of Righteousness") a variety of opinions have been expressed. According to one view, now held by not many scholars, the Teacher of Righteousness of the Scrolls was identical with Jesus of Nazareth; according to another view he was put to death by his antagonist, the "Wicked Priest", whom quite a number of scholars believe to have been the Hasmonæan king Alexander Jannæus. To avoid misunderstandings, I should state here that I consider the first of these opinions to be erroneous, and the second unsubstantiated.

With this reservation a curious fact might be mentioned.

The late mediæval *Toledoth Yeshu* (editio Wagenseil) place the public activity and death of Jesus in the reigns of King Alexander Jannæus and his wife and successor (here called Queen Helena, in reality Alexandra Salome). The Toledoth report that Jesus, having been sentenced to death, was stoned. The dating in Alexander Jannæus' time is probably due to a confusion (also found in the Talmud) of Jesus of Nazareth with Jesus, the son of Perachia. But if it is assumed that the Teacher of Righteousness of the Dead Sea Scrolls was a contemporary of Alexander Jannæus and that he suffered a violent death at the instigation of his adversary, one might ask whether or not the report of the Toledoth that Jesus lived in Alexander Jannæus' time could have been due to vague recollections of the activity and fate of the Teacher whom the Covenanters of Qumrân venerated. If this were the case, the "identification" of Jesus as *moreh haṣṣedeq* would have an ancient antecedent.

By referring to the strange chronology of the *Toledoth Yeshu* in respect of the historical setting of Jesus' life and to the opinions of numerous writers who assume that the Teacher of Righteousness was a contemporary of Alexander Jannæus, I attach no more value to this connection than the value of curiosity. My own opinions on the original and historical setting of the community that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls—on the one hand—and of the circumstances of the death of Jesus of Nazareth—on the other hand—are expressed in two papers published in the course of 1959 in two semi-annual periodicals in England and Germany, respectively.[1]

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[1] There are exceptions. Professor L. Rost and Professor Th. H. Gaster, for instance, have expressed the view that "Teacher of Righteousness" and "Teacher of the Community" are appellations that refer to two distinct personalities,

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[1] " Two Non-Allegorical Expressions in the Dead Sea Scrolls ", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, **91** (1959), pp. 38ff; " Marginal Notes on the Trial of Jesus ", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, **50** (1959), pp. 14ff, 221ff.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Khirbat al Mafjar. An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley. By R. W. Hamilton. With a Contribution by Dr. Oleg Grabar. Palestine Archaeological Museum. Clarendon Press. Oxford University Press. 350 pp., 258 line drawings, 99 illustrations (9 in colour). 8 guineas.

This is a very fine publication indeed, worthy of the Clarendon Press tradition and a credit both to the author and to the numerous other contributors. It is a full and complete record of an excavation project which lasted for twelve winter seasons, from 1936 to 1948, and of many more years' study and reconstruction work in the Palestine Museum.

The ruins of Khirbat al-Mafjar, which lie about 1½ miles due north of modern Jericho in the Jordan Valley, are the site of a palace or hunting-lodge, built by an anonymous Arab prince during the reign of the Caliph Hisham (A.D. 724–743). After being visited by F. J. Bliss of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the final years of the last century, they came increasingly to be used as a quarry for building materials. The appearance of rich architectural ornament soon drew attention to the importance of the ancient building, whose ruins were gradually being dismantled in this way; but it was not until the early nineteen-thirties that the Department of Antiquities was able to take the site under its protection. Excavations were then undertaken which lasted until the end of the Palestine Mandate, and from then onwards work continued on the vast collection of architectural material brought to the Palestine Museum.

The Mafjar excavations have amounted to a revelation on a prodigious scale of architectural practice and style in an historical setting which was hardly known to us until comparatively recent years. The world of the Omayyad Caliphs, who, as masters of Islam, succeeded the saints and soldiers of the Arab Wars of Conquest, though historically always well documented, had previously been a great deal less easy to image from a cultural angle. Omayyad architecture in particular used to be judged mainly by the one great surviving mosque at Damascus, whose famous mosaics were clearly a derivative of Hellenistic art in Syria. And indeed, what else could be expected, since Damascus itself became the dynastic capital no more than fifty years after the *hijra;* and before that, Arab experience of architecture had been practically limited to tents. It remained for discoveries in our own time to demonstrate the remarkable Arabian talent for adaptation and its genius for exploitation of existing craft and technique; to reveal the complicated synthesis of styles which is so rapidly contrived from a diversity of cultural influences.

The beautiful, though at first rather puzzling architecture of Mshatta created the first shock of surprise; then the smaller palace at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr and a gem of early Moslem architecture at Quṣayr ʻAmrah. Next came discoveries on the Iraq side of the desert—three great Friday-mosques and palaces at Waṣit, Kufah and Harran, all of which have been or are at present being excavated. These gave an increasingly clear impression of an authentic Omayyad style, emerging from an indiscriminate amalgam of existing motifs. In addition to Hellenistic or Roman forms and the chaste influence of early Byzantine taste, there was a rich overlay of oriental decoration, surviving from the Sassanian occupation, which the Arab conquests had brought to an end, and minor reminiscences of Phoenician and even Jewish fashions of building. Furthermore, this was not yet the fully developed Islamic style as we know it later, with its formalized geometric ornament and the tedium of unending arabesques. It was a freer and less-inhibited contrivance—a sort of oriental *baroque*, in which, above all, the Moslem distaste for images had not yet asserted itself, so that plant and animal motifs could still be utilized, and even human figures frequently appeared as ornament.

At Mafjar, all these themes can easily be recognized. In particular the *baroque* exuberance of ornament shows a lack of restraint which brings it at times perilously near to straightforward vulgarity, and even the structural forms are immoderately elaborated. All this is well explained by Mr. Hamilton in reference to the conjectural purpose of the building itself. Its principal elements are a palace-proper with chambers in two storeys grouped around a colonnaded court; a magnificently planned and decorated bath establishment; a less conspicuous mosque and a vast courtyard along one side of the building, whose main feature is an ornamental fountain. It needs only the most superficial study of the plan to understand the central aspect of it to which Mr. Hamilton draws attention. The building is not a " stately home ", occasionally and grudgingly opened to the public. The bath establishment is as easily and obviously accessible from the outside as from the family apartments of the actual residence, while many chambers of the latter are open to the public courtyard. The surviving remains of game-preserves and pleasure-gardens in the immediate vicinity of the building show it to have been the country resort of some great Arab *amir*, who, like the paramount sheikhs of an Arab tribe in its spring encampment, would share the amenities of their wealth and capacity for entertainment with their local dependents and a great assembly of guests.

Indeed, the lay-out of the building shows no obvious indication of a setting for official or religious ceremony; and one of its most conspicuous features is what Mr. Hamilton calls " the extravagant provision for bathing parties ". For him this has served as an important clue to the hypothetical identification of its owner, whom he supposes to have been Hisham's nephew, Walîd ibn Yazîd. History implies that, after the death of Hisham, the final decadence of the Omayyad dynasty set in, and the character of the ruling house deteriorated. It was of his son, Muʿawiyah, that Hisham said, " I brought him up for the Caliphate, and he hunts the fox ! "—and it is known of his nephew that, in addition to virtual agnosticism, he acquired sybaritic habits such as a tendency to bathe naked in wine. So the ostentatious luxury of Mafjar would hardly have been incongruous to his taste.

As for the presentation in this book of the architectural remains and their reconstruction, one cannot speak too highly of the skill and patience with which the abundant material has been treated. Adequate line-drawings, clear illustrations in half-tone and colour and a lucid text, are what one would have expected from this author and his collaborators. But in this case all three are quite exceptional. Occasionally the ultimate intricacies of reconstruction have almost defeated the ingenuity and skill of so rare a draughtsman as Mr. G. U. S. Corbett, as in fig. 2, which does not, I think, perfectly explain itself. But the balance and clarity of his drawings generally come near to perfection, and those by the author himself deserve praise, particularly for the ingenious technique arrived at for the presentation of carved relief in stone and plaster.

All forms of ornament which occur here are dealt with by specialists in separate categories. The preponderant use of stone carving in preference to plaster distinguishes these Syrian craftsmen (Aramaeans, Christian Greeks and Jews) from their Persian counterparts on the east side of the desert. And even the carved plaster-work itself (installed sometimes as prefabricated elements) has a fresh quality of design not found in the Abbasid examples of later times, which inspired Herzfeld's stricture that " prevalence of plaster causes the hopeless decadence of architecture ". The magnificent mosaics adorning the main courtyard of the bath are dealt with at length, and special attention is paid to the now famous floor in the *mihrab* of the little *diwan*, with its intriguing implications regarding the vanished beauty of Sassanian carpets. There is also a conscientious study of such remnants as survive from the painted ornament by Dr. Oleg Grabar.

SETON LLOYD.

Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia. By Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., and Frank P. Albright. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1958. xvii, 315 pp., 214 plates. 80*s.*

This splendidly produced book is Volume II in the series of publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, edited by Professor W. F. Albright.

The expeditions with which it deals have already received very wide publicity, as a result of Wendell Phillips' thrilling account in *Qataban and Sheba* (also published as a paper-back under the title *Sheba's Buried City*). They are the South Arabian expeditions launched by the American

Foundation for the Study of Man between 1950 and 1952. More particularly, this volume is devoted to material uncovered in two areas—Wadi Beihan, in the Western Aden Protectorate, and Mârib, in the Kingdom of Yemen.

The population and cultivation of such arid territory as that of South Arabia depend on the finding and conserving of water. The irrigation systems used there in antiquity were therefore a prime subject of study by the expeditions. Readers of *Qataban and Sheba* will appreciate the capacity for understatement shown by Mr. Phillips in a single sentence from his foreword to the present volume: " Unfortunately, it was not possible to study the Mârib dam and its place in the local irrigation system as originally intended ".

It was, however, possible to make some important discoveries at Mârib before the expedition had to make its abrupt departure from Yemen, and these are described in Part II of this volume by Dr. Frank Albright. The most important of them relate to the great temple at Mârib, which is known by the Yemenites as Maḥram Bilqîs (*i.e.*, the sacred precinct of the Queen of Sheba) but whose Sabaean name was 'Awwâm. Various inscriptions testify that it was dedicated to the moon-god 'Ilumquh, the chief Sabaean deity. The oval wall enclosing the temple may be dated, on inscriptional evidence *in situ*, early in the second half of the seventh century B.C. In a gap some eighty feet long in the N.E. side of this wall a large entrance hall was constructed about the second half of the fifth century B.C. Of the inner structure of the temple, however, nothing is known; a good beginning had been made with the removal of the sand, but the excavators reached bottom only at one point when their work was interrupted.

The inscriptions excavated at Mârib have been edited by Dr. Albert Jamme, and are to be published soon.

Part I of the volume deals for the most part with the archaeological survey of Beiḥân, the ancient Qatabân, and with a study of its irrigation system, by Dr. Bowen. He discusses theories that the climate was wetter in Arabia in classical times than it is now and finds nothing to support them. He does, however, believe that the water table in central Arabia has fallen considerably in the last thousand years but considers that this may be due to a decrease in the pressure in the artesian stratum caused by excessive drainage from wells on the east coast of the peninsula and on Bahrein. Farther north it does not appear that the water table has fallen; for example, when engineers of the late King Abdullah cleaned out some of the abandoned tunnel-wells of Transjordan, they commenced to function as they had done millenniums ago. As for South Arabia, the modern Beiḥanis have about the same amount of acreage under cultivation as the ancient Qatabanians had, although the Qatabanian means of irrigation were more efficient, which would suggest that the climate is, if anything, wetter now than it was then. It was not climatic changes, nor yet silting of the canals or of the fields, that was directly responsible for the abandonment of the irrigation works; the abandonment was due rather to changes in social, political or economic conditions, including possibly a decrease in the export trade in frankincense and myrrh in the course of the third century A.D.

One of Dr. Bowen's interesting chapters deals with ancient trade routes in South Arabia. He does not think it likely that there ever was a single unique incense route in South Arabia; there were several routes whose relative importance fluctuated with changing political conditions. Before the destruction of Aden shortly after the beginning of the Christian era the trade in spices and other luxuries from India and Africa came mostly through that port and passed through Qataban; thereafter the port of entry for Indian (and probably also African) goods was Muza on the Red Sea, from which the route ran through the new Sabaean capital at Ẓafâr.

The volume is full of most valuable information about the ancient civilization of South Arabia, presented in such an attractive style that the reader who has no special knowledge of this field can derive profit and enjoyment from it simultaneously.

F. F. B.

The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Text and Pictures. By John Marco Allegro. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1959. 192 pp., 182 plates. 10¼ in. × 7 in. 30*s*.

For the conception and much of the presentation of this beautifully produced book Mr. Allegro makes grateful acknowledgment of the co-operation of Dr. David Noel Freedman, Professor of Old Testament at Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh. Both these scholars deserve our thanks for supplying so attractive an introduction to the subject.

In eleven short chapters the people of the scrolls are described, mainly on the basis of the archaeological evidence and the contents of the scrolls. They are identified with the Essenes, or, at least, with the principal community of Essenes, who were led to the wilderness, to the " City of Salt ", by their priestly leader, the Teacher of Righteousness, about 100 B.C. While " there can as yet be no certainty in the identification of the Wicked Priest or the precise dating of the Teacher's activity " (p. 22), it is suggested that the weight of evidence favours Alexander Jannaeus as the community's arch-enemy. Their rules for initiation, their religious practices, their calendar, their more " secular " activities, their scribal assiduity, their funeral rites, their eschatological hopes—all these and other aspects of their communal life and faith are briefly and lucidly set forth. The eleventh chapter draws attention to some of the affinities between the community and primitive Christianity.

But the distinctive feature of the book is to be found in the excellent illustrations, which tell the story of the discovery and study of the manuscripts, and the excavation of Khirbet Qumrân. Some of the scenes and objects are already quite familiar; others are new. Particularly interesting is a series of photographs showing the stages by which the copper scrolls from Cave 3 were treated and cut in the Manchester College of Technology. Of the persons who appear in the plates some are named, while the identity of others has to be guessed at. In Plate 42 Père de Vaux is easily recognized, but who is his companion in the gas-mask? The four shots of Kando, the merchant of Bethlehem, in Plate 20 show him in four delightfully different expressions. It is comforting to see the substantial blocks of flats which the Taʿamireh Bedouin have built for themselves from the wealth which the scrolls have brought them ! Among the illustrations of Khirbet Qumrân special mention should be made of a series (Plates 141–163) which gives welcome details of the installations for water conservation.

The end-papers present two useful maps.

F. F. B.

The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume I. By Malachi Martin, S.J. Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 2, Place Cardinal Mercier. Institut Orientaliste, 101, Boulevard de Tervuren. 1958. xxxii, 410, 70* pp.

This great volume, No. 44 in the Bibliothèque du *Muséon*, presents the first three parts of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Louvain. Part I deals with " The Scribes and their Methods ", Part II with " The Scribal Traditions of the Scrolls " and Part III with " Scribal Traditions as Historical Types of Orthography ". Part IV, which deals with " Scribal Revision of the Scrolls ", will appear as Volume II.

By the " scribal character " of the Qumrân scrolls Father Martin wishes us to understand their palaeography, orthography and morphology, the method of their presentation, the use of ruling and margins, the symbols, signs and marks, the technique of correction, addition and substitution, the division into sections—in fact, practically everything connected with the texts apart from their actual meaning.

Special and extremely detailed attention is paid to the six accessible documents in the best state of preservation: 1QIs^a, 1 QIs^b, 1QS, 1QM, 1QH, 1QpHab. Thirteen hands are distinguished in these six manuscripts. The interrelation between these hands is examined and found to be more complicated than might have been expected. Thus, in 1QS Scribe A left lacunae to be filled in by Scribe B, but he subsequently returned to the manuscript and revised some of Scribe B's work. In 1QH the second scribe seems to have acted as general supervisor; he filled the gap when the first scribe fell out, then allowed the third scribe to take up the task, and later revised the work of the first and third scribes, although the third scribe had already revised the work of the first.

The scribes appear to have been a professional group of people working according to certain methods and fixed principles. There is no apparent reason why they should be thought of as isolated from the main current of textual transmission and scribal tradition of the closing centuries B.C.

In what Father Martin calls the " organizational texts " (community documents in the stricter sense, such as 1QS and 1QM) he finds a strict unity of scribal tradition; they are written in what he describes as " official phonetic " style, with a generous use of *matres lectionis*. But in the other texts he finds considerable variety; the majority, however, exhibit the " exclusively consonantal " style of 1QIs^b. The orthography of the exemplar would naturally be an influential factor.

A word of appreciative admiration must be added on behalf of a scholar who undertakes the prodigious labour which such work as this entails and so provides his fellow-students with a useful tool for further work. We look forward to the conclusion of his argument in the forthcoming second volume.

F. F. B.

Archaeology and the Old Testament. By James B. Pritchard. London: Oxford University Press. Princeton University Press, N.J. 1958. xvi, 263 pp., 77 illustrations. 30*s.*

Professor Pritchard, of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California, is well known to Old Testament students as the editor of *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* and *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament.* He has written this book for a wider constituency, for all those who are interested in having an answer to the question: " How has history as written in the Bible been changed, enlarged, or substantiated by the past century of archaeological work? "

Of the six chapters in the book, the first three are more nearly concerned with Palestinian studies. Chapter I, " The Science of Palestinian Archaeology ", begins by considering " the essential alphabet of archaeology " —that is to say, the sequence of pottery types. " The science of Palestinian archaeology was born in the spring of 1890, when a rare genius, W. M. Flinders Petrie, found an ancient mound of buried cities worthy of his ability to observe and interpret " (p. 1). Chapter II, " The Making of a Map ", deals with the study of Palestinian geography from Edwin Robinson onwards, and includes an account of the Egyptian sources for the place-names of ancient Palestine. Chapter III, " Baal and the Religion of Canaan ", naturally takes account for the most part of the evidence from Ugarit.

The remaining three chapters deal respectively with Assyria, ancient Near Eastern mythology, and law and wisdom. " Near Eastern archaeology ", Professor Pritchard concludes, " does not yet seem to have reached the point of diminishing returns " (p. 249).

This is a lively and reliable introduction for the layman.

F. F. B.

Die heiligen Stätten der Evangelien. By Clemens Kopp. Verlag Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg. 1959. 493 pp., 66 plates. DM 35.

This work by Dr. Kopp on the sacred sites of the Gospels is the product of many years spent in Palestine, partly as a private visitor and partly as a representative of the Görres-Gesellschaft. Some of his studies have already appeared as articles or monographs. The order in which the various holy places are dealt with is, as far as possible, the order in which they appear in the Gospel narrative; thus we begin with Bethlehem, go on to Nazareth, from there to the scene of John the Baptist's ministry, back *via* Jacob's well to Galilee and more particularly the environment of the Lake, and finally to Jerusalem, the last locality to be studied being appropriately the scene of the Ascension.

This book is no mere pilgrim's guide, although it will give considerable aid and information to visitors to the Holy Land. The author aims at historical certainty, where this is attainable. Thus his section on Bethlehem begins with a summary of the history of the town in pre-Christian times, followed by an examination of the evidence for believing that it was the birth-place of Jesus. He recognizes that the question " Was Jesus born in Nazareth or Bethlehem? " will have a strange sound in pious ears, but he adduces the available material, not only in the New Testament but in Early Christian literature and archaeology, which has a bearing on it, as well as on the tradition which caused the Church of the Nativity to be built where it stands.

Bethany, beyond Jordan, which was the centre of John's baptismal activity (according to John i, 28), is located at the head of the Wadi el-Harrar. " Aenon near Salim ", another place where John baptized (John iii, 23), is located (in accordance with fourth-century tradition) in the valley of Beth-shan. The identification (maintained pre-eminently by W. F. Albright) with ʿAinun and Salim, S.E. of Nablus (where the sources of the Wadi Farʿah provide the " much water " of the text) is mentioned but not adequately discussed.

The identification of Sychar (John iv, 5) with ʿAskar is preferred but only tentatively, in the absence of any definite answer to the question whether a place stood here in the lifetime of Jesus which could be called a πόλις. But the consideration that ʿAskar is quite near Jacob's well, which weighs with Dr. Kopp, is outweighed in Professor Albright's estimation by the consideration that Tell Balatah, the site of Shechem (Greek *Sychem*)[1], is much nearer.

Probably the chief value of Dr. Kopp's book is the care with which the literary traditions for the Gospel sites are collected and presented. The student of the Gospels will find his work particularly useful from this point of view, even if he is not so much influenced by the voice of tradition as Dr. Kopp is.

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[1] Professor Albright thinks that Συχαρ in the Greek text is a copyist's error for Συχεμ, the reading presupposed by the Sinaitic Syriac text.

In addition to the photographic plates, which are collected at the end of the volume, there are nine line maps and plans in the text. The number of these might with advantage have been increased. Discussions of the data of the Madaba map would profit by reproductions of the relevant portions of the map.

F. F. B.

Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judæa. By J. T. Milik. (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 26). London: SCM Press. 1959. Pp. 160, two maps; 25 reproductions. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Abbé Milik's *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* has been reviewed in this periodical by Professor Bruce (*PEQ* **90,** 76–77). Other relevant notices were published by Professor Kahle (*ThLZ* **82,** 641–650), by Rector Vogt (*Biblica* **38,** 468–469, and *JSS* **3,** 191–194) and by Père de Vaux (*RB* **64,** 633–636). The comprehensive character and sober presentation of the work were soon recognized.

The English Version, done by John Strugnell in co-operation with the author, is not a mere translation, but a revised and much enlarged new edition. Inaccuracies in the original French publication have been corrected (for instance, the finding place of fragments from Ben Sira *is Cave* 2, Engl. ed. p. 32, *not Cave* 4, as stated in the French edition on p. 29), an index of subjects has been added, and—what is far more important—the contents of the English book have been enriched with additional references to the material discovered and with discussions of the viewpoints to which expression has been given in works published since the appearance of the original edition. Noteworthy is a discussion of Mlle. Annie Jaubert's chronology of the Passion which Milik rightly rejects (pp. 112–113) (*cf.* Blinzler in *ZNW* **49,** 238–251, and Benoit in *RB* **65,** 590–594) and of Professor Cross's new book *The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies* (*passim*) (reviewed by Professor Bruce in *PEQ* **90,** 145–146; *cf.* my review in *Vox Theologica* **29,** 89–91). The following observations are mainly limited to questions which are raised by the new edition of the Abbé Milik's book.

The author dates the exodus of the Covenanters to their desert retreat in about the year 152 B.C.E., the year in which the high-priesthood had been bestowed upon Jonathan. The migration to Damascus, by a group of the Covenanters, is dated about half a century later. Against Cross, van der Woude and others who think that " land of Damascus " is a veiled allusion to the Judæan Desert, Milik maintains that " Damascus " is not to be identified with the Qumrân settlement, but signifies the Haurân region. A confident opinion on this matter is hardly possible at this stage, but Milik's argument in favour of two different settlements seems preferable. If both 1QS and CD were produced in one and the same locality, their dates of composition would presuppose a considerable lapse of time to allow for the differences in their respective descriptions of the community's organization.

Surprising is Milik's view on the *peshârim* (already expressed in the French book). He holds that they were of the nature of " exercise books ", written by individual members of the brotherhood for private use, some sort of *pensum*, or *Fleissaufgabe*, which they prepared in their leisure hours. Milik argues that on this view it is possible to explain the mixing-up of two distinct persecutors—John Hyrcanus I and his uncle Jonathan—in a composite representation of the " Wicked Priest " (p. 89). This hypothesis appears little convincing; the Covenanters knew better than we do who their persecutor was and what he did. Milik assigns all the *peshârim* to the first Christian century (p. 64). Cross would date the composition of the Pesher Habakkuk in the middle of the first pre-Christian century, and this is a more plausible view in at least one reader's opinion. The Habakkuk Commentary must have been written when the shameful death of the Wicked Priest could still be held up as a warning. In the first century of the present era, under Roman rule, wrongs and grievances of more recent date would have been so much in the foregound of Jewish concerns that writers would hardly have indulged in the elaboration of academic exercises regarding the demerits of early Hasmonaean princes. The Pesher Habakkuk was probably composed between 63 and 40 B.C.E., though it refers to events of an earlier time. An eschatological outlook is prominent in the work, and if it had been written—as Milik believes—in the first half of the first Christian century, it would be difficult to explain how the author could have come to think of happenings that had taken place two centuries earlier as being the portents of " the last times ".

There are some misprints that might be avoided if the book—as is to be hoped—is reprinted. In transliterations of Hebrew words exchanges between *h* and *b* have occurred quite frequently; they occur occasionally in transliterations of Greek words between the letters *a* and *o*. The plural of *pesher* is sometimes spelt *pešārîm*, sometimes *pešärîm*. The reference on Plate 25 should be to page " 138 ". The name in the bibliography on p. 148 is " Hunzinger " (without " t "). The curious sentence on p. 128, line 13, beginning " The Johannine maywritings give some importance . . . " should be corrected so as to read: " The Johannine writings may give some importance . . . " But little blemishes like these do not detract from the value of Milik's work, nor do they diminish our gratitude to author and publishers.

Perhaps at this point mention might be made of Geza Vermes's book *Les manuscrits du Désert de Juda* (Tournai, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1954; English edition *Discovery in the Judean Desert*, New York 1956). The more recent books by Milik and Cross are undoubtedly more comprehensive in their survey of the material, and their authors' arguments are on the whole more detailed and often better sustained. Both Cross and Milik have had the advantage of direct access to the manuscripts, some of them unpublished, and have made good use of this privileged position. They have also benefited from publications which appeared after 1953. Nevertheless it ought to be recognized that it was Vermes who first put the material in the right sort of historical perspective, and that it is the suggestiveness of his researches to which both Milik and Cross are largely indebted.

PAUL WINTER.

Amerika und die Orientalischen Kirchen. By Peter Kawerau. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Genthinerstrasse 13, Berlin, W.35. 1958. Pp. xi, 772. 5 maps, 28 plates. DM 48.

This massive study, which has appeared as No. 31 in the publishers' series of *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, was presented as a *Habilitationsschrift* to the theological faculty of Münster University. The subject is the new interest evinced by American Protestants in the ancient Churches of the Near East from the time of the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century onward. It is a fascinating and, at times, a fantastic story; for the intensity of eschatological and millenarian hope and the devotion of missionary endeavour that were among the fruits of the Awakening were accompanied by very ill-informed, and in some cases utterly misguided, ideas of Near Eastern Christianity. The project of reforming Near Eastern Christianity by an infusion of the evangelical ideals of the Awakening so as to establish in the Church's birthplace a Church restored to her pristine purity was frustrated by unforeseen obstacles. Eli Smith, a delegate of the recently-formed American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, wrote: "We seem like visitors from another planet; we describe things which our hearers have no sense-organs to take in" (p. 315). Such was the gulf between Christianity according to the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and his successors and Christianity according to the ancient liturgies of the Eastern Churches.

Even less success attended such an enterprise as that of the astounding Joseph Wolff, who undertook a journey in Western Asia in order to find the ten lost tribes of Israel. "My doubts about the Affghaunes being descendants of the Jews", said he, "are these: they have not the Jewish physiognomy; and the tradition of their being the descendants of the Jews is not general. I have already shown that some believe them to be the descendants of the Copts. Their genealogy also is confused; and finally, their language does not resemble the Hebrew" (p. 157).

Wolff was really an international figure, although he was Bavarian by birth and British by naturalization. But the American movement had repercussions in other lands, especially Great Britain and Prussia. Kawerau takes into his purview the co-operation of these two countries in establishing the Protestant bishopric of Jerusalem in 1841. In connection with the British contribution to Kawerau's story, it should be noted that the "Mr. Parnell, of the Bagdad mission", mentioned on p. 264, was not, as he says, Henry Brooke Parnell, first Baron Congleton, but his son John Vesey Parnell, who succeeded to the barony in 1842. Another eminent member of that Bagdad mission was Francis William Newman (brother of the Cardinal), whose *Personal Narrative*, together with Henry Groves's *Memoir of Lord Congleton*, provides detailed first-hand information of yet another Near Eastern enterprise in the interests of primitive Christianity.

But what has all this to do with the interests of this *Quarterly*? Much every way; chiefly, because the beginnings of modern Palestine exploration were a by-product of this missionary enthusiasm. It was under the influence and in the company of the aforementioned Eli Smith that Edward Robinson carried out his first exploration of the Holy Land in 1838. Professor Albright (who contributes the entry on Eli Smith to the *Dictionary of American Biography*) quotes the Swiss Titus Tobler as writing: "The works of Robinson and Smith alone surpass the total of all previous contributions to Palestinian geography from the time of Eusebius and Jerome to the early nineteenth century" (*The Archæology of Palestine*, p. 25). William McClure Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book*, served the American Board as a missionary in Syria and Palestine from 1833 to 1876.

The study of Near Eastern vernaculars and of older liturgical idioms received a great impetus, too, from this missionary interest. It was in this way, for example, that the life and language of the Nestorians of the Urmia region became more generally known in the west.

Again, the founding of schools by the missionaries first introduced western methods of education to those lands; the most outstanding of these foundations was the one which ultimately developed into the American University of Beirut.

These interests, while treated incidentally in relation to the main theme of Kawerau's work, are nevertheless treated with sufficient detail and documentation to make this volume one deserving attention by those who wish to know more about the revival of western interest in all that concerns the Holy Land and the neighbouring countries.

F. F. B.

The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls. By Cecil Roth. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1958. viii, 87 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Readers of this *Quarterly* are familiar with the main outlines of Dr. Roth's reconstruction of the historical background of the Scrolls, especially from his article " The Jewish Revolt against the Romans (66–73) in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls " which appeared in our issue for July-December, 1958. This fuller statement of his views, which was published on December 1 last, will be widely welcomed, even if the views themselves are not widely accepted.

It is evident that Dr. Roth has continued to think actively about the whole question during the writing and producing of his book, and whereas he held at first that the Teacher of Righteousness was Menahem, who met a violent death at the hands of Eleazar, captain of the temple, in the autumn of A.D. 66, he has found himself become less certain about this identification. " The death of the Teacher is nowhere stated unmistakably and categorically in the extant literature—only his persecution, it is true with deadly intent " (p. vii). Accordingly he is increasingly inclined to identify the Teacher with Eleazar ben Jair, who escaped when his kinsman Menahem was captured and killed, and lived to fight another day. But in either case the captain of the temple is equated with the Wicked Priest.

There are many points raised by this interpretation which have not been satisfactorily cleared up, and Dr. Roth will certainly have more to say on the subject. In particular, the relation of his interpretation to the date of the Zadokite Work demands closer attention. The Damascus exile is taken literally, and dated between 4 B.C. and A.D. 6. If that is so, the composition of the Zadokite Work itself must surely belong to that period. But in the Zadokite Work the Teacher of Righteousness is already dead. Moreover, in the Zadokite Work the Teacher of Righteousness is, for all practical purposes, the founder of the community. It may be that Dr. Roth thinks that the Teacher of Righteousness in the *peshârim* and the Teacher of Righteousness in the Zadokite Work were different persons; he seems to identify the Teacher of the *peshârim* with the *yoreh haṣṣedeq* (which he reads as *moreh ṣedeq*) who, according to CD vi.11, is to arise *be'aḥarit hayyamim*, which he translates " in the (present) apocalyptic days " (p. 31, no. 2). But who was the earlier Teacher, who had been " gathered in " by the time the Zadokite Work was written? Judas the Gaulanite? Or his colleague Zadok? Or Judas's father Hezekiah?

A similar chronological problem is posed by Dr. Roth's tentative identification of the Man of Falsehood with Simon bar Giora. Can Simon (even on the basis of Dr. Roth's general thesis) have been the Man of Falsehood of the Zadokite Work?

In all this nothing has been said about the palæographical evidence. If the oldest manuscript of the Zadokite Work found at Qumrân belongs to the earlier half of the first century B.C., as F. M. Cross and J. T. Milik assure us, the Damascus exile cannot be dated so late as 4 B.C.–A.D. 6; and even the latest date assigned by palaeographers to 1Q p Habakkuk is earlier than A.D. 66. We should feel happier about a solution which simultaneously satisfies the internal and other literary evidence as interpreted by philologists and historians *and* the palaeographical evidence as interpreted by palaeographers.[1]

F. F. B.

Documents from Old Testament Times. Translated with Introductions and Notes by members of the Society for Old Testament Study and edited by D. Winton Thomas. London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 1958. xxvi, 302 pp. 16 plates. 18*s*.

To commemorate its forty years of existence the Society for Old Testament Study has issued this volume—the fourth which has appeared under its auspices since its inception. The three earlier volumes—*The People and the Book* (1925), *Record and Revelation* (1938) and *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951)—were symposia which surveyed the progress and prospects of Old Testament studies. The fourth volume has departed from that tradition; it was the Society's wish that it should consist of a selection of non-biblical documents illustrating the Old Testament, to meet the requirements of ministers, school teachers and other Bible students who are not professional scholars. The preparation of the work was entrusted to Professor Winton Thomas, who has enlisted the co-operation of twenty other scholars.

After an introduction in which the editor describes the main types of document throwing light on the Old Testament, the volume is divided into five main groups: Cuneiform documents, Egyptian documents, a Moabite document, Hebrew documents and Aramaic documents.

The cuneiform documents, in addition to those of Assyrian and Babylonian provenance (entrusted to Dr. W. J. Martin and Mr. D. J. Wiseman), include selections from the Tell el-Amarna correspondence (entrusted to Professor Mullo Weir) and the Ras Shamra texts (Dr. John Gray). The Egyptian documents include Merneptah's " Israel " stele and Ikhnaton's Hymn to the Sun (Professor R. J. Williams), the Tale of the Two Brothers (with its resemblance to the story of Potiphar's wife) and the Teaching of Amenemope in its thirty chapters (cf. Prov. xxii, 20), roughly contemporary with Solomon (Professor J. M. Plumley). The Moabite Stone is discussed by Dr. E. Ullendorff. The Hebrew documents include the Gezer Calendar (Principal J. Mauchline), the Siloam Inscription (Dr. N. H. Snaith), some Lachish Letters (Professor Winton Thomas) together with inscribed potsherds from Samaria (Mr. J. N. Schofield), seals and weights (Dr. D. Driinger) and coins (Professor J. Weingreen).

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[1] Dr. Roth informs us that he does not "consider it in the slightest degree improbable that a mystical constitution of this type [as set out in the Damascus Covenant] should be adjusted from time to time in order to be accommodated to later developments, and it really does seem as though the late allusions are in the second text." (This is relevant to the problem of prophecy in this document, discussed on p. 132 above.) But he does not believe that palaeography alone can lead to such precise chronological conclusions as are claimed for it (a point which he makes on p. 68, n. 1, of his book).

As for the Aramaic documents, Principal M. Black deals with the Milqart stele set up by " Bar-hadad, son of Tab-Rammon son of Hadyan, king of Aram " (cf. 1 Kings xv, 18) and the Zakir stele recording a victory over " Bar-hadad, son of Hazael, King of Syria " (cf. 2 Kings xiii, 24 f.); Professor W. D. McHardy discusses the Saqqarah letter from King Adon to Necho, and points out that the identification of Adon's kingdom with Ashkelon " still lacks substantiation " (p. 252); Professor Rowley edits four of the most interesting papyri from Elephantine, and Mr. A. E. Goodman translates and comments on the Aramaic text of The Words of Ahikar.

There are several points of special interest because of their bearing on disputed areas of Old Testament history. Mr. Wiseman, for example, considers the problem whether two separate invasions of Judah by Sennacherib are combined in the narrative of 2 Kings xviii, 13–xix, 37 (and parallels). One reason for thinking that there were two invasions, separated by a number of years, is that Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, whose reported expedition against Sennacherib diverted that monarch's undivided attention from Judah (2 Kings xix, 9), appears to have been nine years old in 701 B.C., the year of Sennacherib's first invasion; " but ", says Mr. Wiseman, " further evidence might well give a closer date for his birth than *c.* 710 B.C." (p. 65).

Professor T. Fish edits a selection of texts relating to Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (556–539 B.C.), some of which make mention of his eldest son Belshazzar. " In the book of Daniel (v, 1 f., 11, etc.)", as Professor Fish points out, " Belshazzar is king of Babylon. Contemporary inscriptions name Nabonidus, not Belshazzar, ' king of Babylon '. There is no evidence, but it may be presumed that Nabonidus elected Belshazzar to act as vice-regent in his absence [at Teima in North Arabia] (553–545 B.C.). This means that Belshazzar had political power, backed by force, in the capital for more years than had his father Nabonidus. The circumstance that oaths were taken in the joint names of Nabonidus and of Belshazzar underlines the latter's authority in the land " (pp. 90 f.).

This volume was prepared too soon to make much use of the new Nabonidus material from Harran. Mr. Wiseman, however, refers to one Nabonidus text from Harran which speaks of the " King of the Medes " in 546 B.C. (three years after the overthrow of the Median king Astyages by Cyrus), and suggests that this reopens the whole question of the historicity of " Darius the Mede " and " makes it possible that ' Darius the Mede ' was but another name and title for Cyrus himself " (p. 83).

There are useful bibliographies and indexes. On p. 47 the number of chariots supplied by Ahab to the confederate force that opposed Shalmaneser III at Karkar should be given as 2,000 and not 200.

Old Testament students everywhere will be grateful to the Society, and to the editor and contributors, for such a valuable aid to their studies.

F. F. B.

History Unearthed. By Sir Leonard Woolley. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1958. 183 pp., 107 plates. 11 in. × 8½ in. 30*s.*

In this beautifully produced and illustrated volume Sir Leonard Woolley gives a brief survey of eighteen archæological sites, from Anyang in China and Piedras Negras in Guatemala to Sutton Hoo in Suffolk. Only one of the eighteen sites (Jericho) is Palestinian, but the wider Near East is well represented by Nimrud, Troy and Mycenæ, the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus, Knossos, Ur, Tutankhamun's tomb, Ras Shamra, and Karatepe. The book, described by Sir Leonard as " a picture-book with its text reduced to a minimum ", is intended to show the general reader how the scientific methods of modern field archæology have added to our knowledge of ancient history. And even specialists in one area will find Sir Leonard's surveys of other areas so fascinating that they may be stimulated to learn more about some of them. After all, it is not every subscriber to the Palestine Exploration Fund who is as familiar with the frozen tombs of Pazyryk as he is with the Middle Bronze Age tombs of Jericho, and if he is not, he will read Sir Leonard's account of them with as much wonder as any " common reader ". In a bibliography at the end the reader is directed to the most authoritative sources of information on each of the sites.

F. F. B.

Illustrations from Biblical Archæology. By Donald J. Wiseman. London: The Tyndale Press. 1958. 112 pp., 117 plates. 6 in. × 9 in. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Wiseman, of the British Museum Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, has also produced an archaeological picture-book for the general reader, but his field is restricted to the Near East of Bible days—from the beginnings of civilization to Roman imperial times. The illustrations are accompanied by a continuous account in words, divided into seven chapters: (1) The Dawn of Civilization; (2) The Patriarchal Age; (3) Egypt and the Exodus; (4) In the Days of the Kings; (5) The Exile and After; (6) In New Testament Times; (7) Methods and Results. The last chapter contains some wise words on the use and limits of biblical archæology, which enthusiastic biblicists have sometimes tended to ignore. In the cuneiform field particularly, Mr. Wiseman's knowledge is first-hand and up-to-date; he makes mention, for example, of the recently discovered stele from Harran describing the exile and return of Nabonidus. There is an excellent bibliography at the end of the book.

On p. 56, l. 3, the number of chariots provided by Ahab for the force that opposed Shalmaneser III at Karkar should be 2,000 instead of 200. Sir Frederic Kenyon's Christian name has a superfluous *k* on pp. 91 and 102; Miss Tufnell's surname is mis-spelt on p. 107 and Dr. Reifenberg's on pp. 107 and 109.

F. F. B.

Concordantiæ Veteris Testamenti Hebraicæ atque Aramaicæ secundum Textum Masoreticum a Paulo Kahle in Biblia Hebraica curatum (*Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*). Compiled and written by Dr. Th. Gerhard Lisowsky in co-operation with Prof. D.Dr. Leonhard Rost. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt. 1958. XVI, 1,672 pp. DM 46 = £4.

The work here reviewed, published in separate *Lieferungen* over a number of years, is now available in a handsome single volume. The Concordance compiled by Mandelkern has been out of print for some years, and a new edition of Mandelkern's work (by C. M. Brecher and A. Awrunim, New York: Shulsinger) is hardly accessible to European scholars because of its prohibitive price. Two attempts were made to fill the gap, namely, the אוצר לשון המקרא *Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible* (by S. A. Loewenstamm and J. Blau, Jerusalem: Bible Concordance Press) and the present one by Lisowsky. Little need to be said of the book's importance. It is not a reproduction of Mandelkern's standard work; the lexicographical material has been expanded; on the other hand, biblical references have not been represented in full in such cases where certain words retained their significance in whatever context, or lacked any significant content (prepositions, particles, numerals, &c.). This procedure was adopted so as to bring the work " up to date " without exceeding a volume of manageable size. The compiler's and editor's chief aim was to promote semantic research.

A technical peculiarity of the edition lies in the fact that the calligraphic handwriting of Dr. Lisowsky's manuscript has been reproduced by way of photomechanic reprint instead of by setting in type.

Paul Winter.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1959

The 93rd Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1, on Thursday, July 2, 1959, at 5.30 p.m. (Canon C. B. Mortlock in the Chair).

The Minutes of the 92nd Annual General Meeting were read, approved and signed.

The Chairman then said:

" As we draw nearer our Centenary I am happy to report a successful if uneventful year. Miss Kenyon paid a visit to Jericho following the completion of seven seasons' work. She is now engaged on the first volume of her definitive report.

" Mr. Peter Parr, the Secretary-Librarian of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, has been working on excavations at Petra and will be speaking about his work at the Annual Meeting of the School on July 16 at the rooms of the British Academy.

" During the year three lectures were given in these rooms but the attendance was most disappointing. Dr. Cecil Roth spoke on ' The Zealots in the War of 66–73 '; Dr. Paul Winter on ' The Wicked Priest ', and Mr. Baruch Kanael on ' The Maccabean and the Herodian States in the Light of their Coinage '.

" Financially the year was a happier one, as your Honorary Treasurer will report, but we still need more subscribers.

" The Notes and News so excellently edited and published in the *Quarterly* by our Editor, Professor Bruce, leave little else for me to say, except perhaps to offer on behalf of us all our congratulations on his appointment to the Rylands Chair of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

" Inevitably we had had losses among subscribers, age being mainly responsible. Among these were Colonel Warde-Aldam and Miss Agnes Fry, both good friends and keen supporters of the Fund for a great number of years.

" During the year the Reverend Professor J. M. Plumley and Mr. C. N. Johns joined the Executive Committee. Mr. Johns needs no introduction, having been a subscriber and contributor to the *Quarterly* for a number of years. Professor Plumley, too, has lectured to us in these rooms.

" I will now call on our Honorary Treasurer to report on the financial position of the Fund."

Mr. Oliver Thompson, in presenting the accounts of the Fund for the year ended December 31, 1958, said:

" The main feature of the year was the publication of the third volume of the *Samaria-Sebaste* report.

" You will see from the Income and Expenditure Account that thanks to the generous help of many friends the amounts received to date, including the proceeds of sales, have almost equalled the cost of production and of course there will be further sales to come.

" In accordance with our usual practice we have not placed any value on the remaining stocks of the volume so that proceeds of further sales will make a contribution to our revenue in the future. Now that we have got this publication out of the way your Committee feels that the Fund should once more give its attention to the assistance of research and excavation.

" It has, therefore, been proposed that £500 should be transferred from the surplus account to a research account out of which it is proposed that £350 should be granted towards the cost of the report on Dr. Kenyon's excavations at Jericho. We hope to be able to make further transfers to the research account in future years and to be in a position to assist archaeology by grants of this kind.

" Once again I must put on record that the continued solvency of the Fund is to no small extent due to the hard work done by our Assistant Secretary in selling past publications. It is not possible to foresee how long this source of income can continue at its present level."

Mr. Thompson then moved the adoption of the accounts, which were approved by the meeting.

Messrs. Turquand Youngs were again unanimously appointed the Fund's Auditors.

This concluded the business of the meeting.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER 1958

1957 £		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Capital:		
	Authorised—200 Shares of £1 each	200 0 0	
—	Issued—9 Shares of £1 each, not called		—
	Surplus of Assets over Liabilities: (Excluding donated property)		
3,136	Amount as per last Balance Sheet	3,510 5 8	
	Less: Grant for Samaria wrongly included in Income in 1957	250 0 0	
		3,260 5 8	
374	*Add:* Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	437 6 0	
3,510		3,697 11 8	
	Deduct:		
	Amount written off Investments	100 0 0	
	Transfer to Research Account	500 0 0	
3,510			3,097 11 8
	Research Account:		
	Transfer from Surplus of Assets over Liabilities	500 0 0	
	Less: Provision for proposed contribution to publication cost of the Jericho Report	350 0 0	
—			150 0 0
	Provisions and Current Liabilities:		
—	Provision *re* Jericho Report	350 0 0	
281	Sundry Creditors for Current Expenses	16 16 6	
108	Subscriptions in advance	153 9 10	
882	Donations toward cost of Publication	—	
1,271			520 6 4
£4,781			£3,767 18 0

NOTES:—

1. £105 has been included in Salaries in respect of remuneration to a member of the executive committee.
2. No value has been placed on the stock of Samaria-Sebaste, Vol. III, the cost of which was £2,370. It is not possible to estimate the ultimate selling price obtainable.

1957 £			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Fixed Assets:			
—	Freehold Property—Donated: No. 2, Hinde Street (estimated value £5,000)			—
1,189	Alterations and Improvements: No. 2, Hinde Street, at net book value, 1st July, 1948			1,188 17 5
382	Museum, Library and Storeroom, Fixtures, Fittings, Furniture, etc., at net book value, 1st July, 1948			382 2 7
	Typewriter at cost		39 10 0	
	Less: Depreciation to date		37 10 0	
8				2 0 0
	Projector at cost		41 13 0	
	Less: Depreciation		8 13 0	
37				33 0 0
—	Otzar Hityashvuth Hayehudim B.M. Israeli £250 Ordinary Stock (Registered) Donated			—
—	Jewish Colonial Trust — Donated — 50 Ordinary Shares of 2s. 6d. each, fully paid			—
1,616				1,606 0 0
	Current Assets:			
28	Subscriptions in arrear		6 0 0	
	Investments—Post Office Issue—at cost or under:—			
	£374 12s. 0d. 3½% Conversion Loan, 1961, or after	300		
	£50 3% Savings Bonds, 1955/65	50		
	£264 1s. 8d. 2½% Savings Bonds, 1964/67	250		
	£300 3½% Defence Bonds	300		
1,100			900 0 0	
	(Market Value, £817; 1957—£891)			
60	Sundry Debtors		229 1 3	
399	Cash at Bank on Current Account and in hand		897 8 7	
1,550	Cash at Bank on Deposit Account		101 0 0	
28	Cash on Deposit—Post Office Savings Bank		28 8 2	
				2,161 18 0
£4,781				£3,767 18 0

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expenditure Account which are in agreement with the Fund's books of account and we have obtained all the information and explanations which, to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. Proper books of account have been kept by the Fund, so far as appears from our examination thereof.

In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the said Accounts give the information required by the Companies Act, 1948, in the manner required and present a true and fair view of the state of affairs as at 31st December, 1958, and of the excess of Income over Expenditure for the year.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1958

1957 £		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
762	Printing—Quarterly	693	2	6			
29	Miscellaneous	73	4	3			
791		766	6	9			
60	*Less:* Contribution by British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem	60	0	0			
731					706	6	9
16	Library				—		
610	Salaries, Wages and Pensions (see Note 1)				610	4	0
270	Repairs				44	6	0
26	Insurance				10	8	9
74	Rates				78	12	2
55	Lighting, Heating and Cleaning				62	4	8
59	Postage and Telephone				65	6	0
57	Stationery and Sundries				50	14	11
10	Audit Fee				10	10	0
3	Depreciation on Typewriter				6	0	0
5	Depreciation on Projector				4	0	0
—	Loss on Samaria-Sebaste, Vol. III				95	13	8
374	Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure				437	6	0
£2,290					£2,181	12	11

1957 £		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
848	Subscriptions and Donations, including local societies				823	12	1
250	Nuffield Grant toward cost of Quarterly				250	0	0
73	Refund of Income Tax on Covenanted Subscriptions				—		
309	Sales of Publications				314	13	10
725	Rents				725	0	0
	Dividends Received—Gross:						
	On £374 12s. 0d. 3½% Conversion Loan	13	2	2			
	On £50 3% Savings Bonds, 1955/65	1	10	0			
	On £264 1s. 8d. 2½% Savings Bonds, 1964/67	6	12	0			
	On £300 3½% Defence Bonds	10	10	0			
	On £100 2½% Defence Bonds	2	10	0			
	On Israeli £250 Otzar Hityashvuth Hayehudim B.M. Ordinary Stock	1	5	4			
35		35	9	6			
49	Interest received on Bank Deposit Account	31	4	0			
1	Interest on Post Office Savings Bank Deposit Account	0	13	6			
					67	7	0
—	Premium on Redemption of Defence Bonds				1	0	0
£2,290					£2,181	12	11

SAMARIA-SEBASTE—VOL. III

	£	s.	d.
Contribution towards cost of publication	2,477	8	10
Proceeds of Sales during year	882	0	0
	3,359	8	10
Cost of Publication	3,455	2	6
Loss subject to ultimate value of stock (see Note 2)	£95	13	8

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PALESTINE
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QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement*
of the Palestine Exploration Fund
and the *Bulletin* of the British
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SAMARIA-SEBASTE

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The publication is announced of the final volume of the report on the excavations at SAMARIA conducted jointly during the years 1931-35 by HARVARD UNIVERSITY, the HEBREW UNIVERSITY, the PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, the BRITISH ACADEMY and the BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

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